

SLAVERY IN AMERICA:

WITH

NOTICES OF THE PRESENT STATE

OF

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE

THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

CONDUCTED BY

THE REV. THOMAS PRICE, D.D.

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TO THE READER.

THE observations which we deemed it expedient to make in our last number, must have suggested to our readers the necessity of directing our energies in future to the condition of the professedly emancipated slaves of our own colonies. In suspending this monthly publication for the present, we must protest against the inference being drawn that we feel less interested in American Abolition movements, or that we shall watch with less anxiety the progress of the cause of justice and freedom there; but we do feel that, as a nation, we are too deeply implicated in the chicanery and deception which are practised in our own colonies, to warrant the withdrawal of any portion of our efforts to nations over whom we have no political influence, and where our national character is no ways implicated.

But, while relinquishing this publication in its present shape, we shall have frequent opportunities, in periodicals, newspapers, and other mediums of a public description, of keeping the cause of the American Philanthropists before the eye of British Christians. This we shall ever consider our paramount duty; and we shall attend to it from a full conviction that no human instrumentality is so effective in showing the man-stealer his guilt, as in the constant exposure of his conduct before those, with whom he wishes to stand on terms of amicable and friendly equality. In a slave state, the whole atmosphere is tainted; one man keeps another in countenance; the heart is hardened by what the eyes every day behold; and it is only by bringing his arbitrary and despotic institutions into frequent juxtaposition with the free and equal laws of other nations, that we can shame him out of practices which are as much a disgrace to his character as they are a clog to his prosperity.

We must also warn our American friends from being in the least degree disheartened in their onward course by what is occurring in our Colonies. We there see a practical proof of what has been frequently asserted, both by American and British philanthropists, that the chief difficulty in

effecting emancipation rests with the master and not with the slave. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the slave would do his duty, if the master could be made to do his. If any apprenticeship were required, it is the planter should be made to serve it; and if any legitimate motive could be urged for gradual, rather than immediate, emancipation, it would arise from the side of the master, and not the slave, in order to instil into a heart, which the system has depraved, the principles of justice, and mercy, and truth. It is, indeed, a very hard lesson for him to learn, when he is required to treat those as men and women, endowed with liberties and privileges equal to himself, whom he has from childhood regarded merely as beasts of burden, a kind of intelligent animal, made to serve the interests and obey the will of others.

Our experience will also serve as an example to the friends of the oppressed in other countries, to show them how utterly futile is the attempt to legislate by foreign authority for the proper treatment of the slave, while arbitrary power is vested in the master; or so to leave the victim in his hands as to prevent his escape from ill-treatment, or to seek his own market for his industry. If this had been secured to the apprentices in our colonies, the entire apparatus of stipendiary magistrates might have been dispensed with. As the case now stands, so much is still left for the philanthropists of our country to accomplish on the behalf of our own slave population, that the whole moral force of the religious public must be again brought to bear upon the subject. Already have a great number of the old anti-slavery societies been re-organized; public meetings are being held in various parts of the country; strong demonstrations are made to those who solicit our votes as members of parliament; pamphlets and addresses are in free circulation; and we cannot but entertain the fullest conviction that, however the confidence of the British Parliament has been abused by the abettors of tyranny abroad, that ultimately the strength of the British arm will be felt, slavery will be abandoned in practice as it is now abolished in law; and that the example which Britain has set, will, in due time, be followed by other nations, till a system so accursed in its nature and its effects shall be altogether banished from the abodes of men.

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Slavery in America.

No. I.—JULY, 1836.

THE EDITOR'S ADDRESS TO THE READER.

IN commencing the present publication, the editor is desirous of stating the principles on which it will be conducted, and the objects it is designed to subserve. It has originated in the deep interest recently awakened amongst British Christians in the character and extent of the slave system existing amongst their American brethren. The real nature and operation of this unhallowed system has been but lately known. A presumption favourable to its character was derived from the religious profession of its apologists and defenders. The fact, that Christian men and Christian ministers gave it their countenance, and were deeply implicated in its support, led to a persuasion that its spirit must be mild, and its progress unmarked by those atrocities which had characterized the slavery of our own colonies. But recent communications have clearly established the painful and humiliating fact, that in America, the land of boasted freedom and religious privilege, the inherent depravity of the slave system has been signally displayed in effecting one of the most disastrous triumphs over the charities of our nature and the principles of our faith which history records. Its effect upon the slave and his master, upon the social community and the Christian church, is such as fully to identify it with that monstrous system of wickedness against which the energies and prayers of British Christians have been so lately arrayed. The knowledge of these facts has enkindled a deep and absorbing interest in a large portion of the religious people of this empire, and the inquiry is now becoming general, *What can we do to rescue Christianity from reproach, and to save our American brethren from the natural consequences of their guilt in upholding this horrid system of impiety and wrong?* It is to meet this inquiry, and to aid in the adoption of such measures as are calculated to arouse the conscience and to call forth the religious principles of the people of the United States, that this periodical is commenced.

It will treat slavery as a palpable violation of the divine law,—as an act of injustice towards man, and of impiety towards God,—a sin to be repented of and forsaken, rather than an evil to be mitigated or a misfortune to be mourned over. The imperative obligation of Christians to seek its destruction will be urgently enforced, and the delusive character of the pleas which are urged in defence of silence and inactivity will be fearlessly exposed. At the same time, it will be the anxious aim of the editor to avoid every expression that shall be unnecessarily offensive and irritating. He will endeavour to unite a temperate and conciliatory address with an uncompromising advocacy of those principles with which slavery is essentially incompatible.

In his delineation of the American slave system, the editor will scrupulously adhere to facts: truth needs not the aid of fiction in order to the accomplishment of its benevolent designs; much less can its interests be advanced by the inventions of falsehood, or the reports of slander. The assistance he has engaged, and the sources of information which are open to him, leave no doubt on his mind of his being able to present to his readers an accurate and full-length portraiture of the slave system as it is interwoven with the social compacts and religious operations of America. It will be his especial aim to point out its injurious influence on the religious sensibilities and character of the people of that country, for which purpose an extensive correspondence will be conducted with Christian ministers and other gentlemen residing there.

The present publication is also designed to be a magazine of information, from which American abolitionists and their countrymen at large may learn what is taking place amongst us in reference to this great moral question. The movements of religious bodies in their intercourse with America, together with the resolutions passed at various meetings throughout the country, will be faithfully recorded; and no effort will be spared by which the moral influence of British Christians may be made to bear on the extinction of an evil which defaces the beauty and enfeebles the energies of the transatlantic churches.

While the editor's attention will be principally directed to American slavery, it will not be confined to it. He will supply intelligence respecting anti-slavery operations throughout the world, and will omit no opportunity of enforcing upon Christians, at home and abroad, by every argument derived from religious principle and political expediency, the sacred duty of immediate and total emancipation.

To such as approve of his design, the editor appeals for support. Should the public patronize his undertaking, he will rejoice in the opportunity afforded him of again advocating a cause, for which he formerly sacrificed

health, and endangered his ministerial existence. But should it be otherwise, he will have the satisfaction of having endeavoured, to the extent of his ability, and in the only mode of which his present circumstances admit, to discharge a duty which conscience deems imperative, and in which all the purest sentiments of his heart find an appropriate sphere of operation.

BRIEF NOTICES OF THE PROGRESS OF THE CAUSE OF ABOLITION IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE origin of the present Anti-slavery movement in the United States of America cannot be traced farther back than 1829, when the talented and intrepid William Lloyd Garrison publicly declared himself the zealous and uncompromising advocate of universal immediate emancipation. Previously to that period, many individuals had pleaded the cause of the oppressed slaves in North America with great fervour and ability, but none had distinguished himself more than Benjamin Lundy, whose self-denying labours in behalf of oppressed humanity have won for him the admiration of all who have marked his course.

In August, 1829, William Lloyd Garrison issued proposals for publishing his celebrated newspaper, "THE LIBERATOR." This production, full of energetic appeal and heart-stirring eloquence, was eminently calculated to awaken public attention to the great moral enterprise in which he had engaged, and to which he had solemnly devoted his talents and his life. He took his stand on the inalienable rights of man, and the essential sinfulness of slavery, and fearlessly proclaimed the doctrine of "immediate and entire emancipation." It was Mr. Garrison's intention to have published his paper at Washington, "the mother of abominations" in all that respects American slavery, but was prevented from carrying his design into effect by the removal of "THE GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION," edited by his friend and fellow-labourer, Mr. Lundy, to the seat of the national government. He therefore determined to unfurl "the Standard of Emancipation in the eyes of the nation *within sight of Bunker Hill, and in the birth-place of Liberty.*"—BOSTON.

The first number of "THE LIBERATOR" was issued on the first of January, 1831, and forms an epoch in the history of American Slavery. In this powerfully-written paper he says: "I shall not array myself as the political partizan of any man. In defending the great cause of human rights, I wish to derive the assistance of all religions and of all parties." "I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population." "I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD. The apathy of the people is enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal, and to hasten the resurrection of the dead."

In a beautiful address to the slaves he says:

"Not by the sword shall your deliverance be;
Not by the shedding of your masters' blood;
Not by rebellion, or foul treachery,
Upspringing suddenly, like swelling flood:
Revenge and Rapine ne'er did bring forth good.
God's time is best! nor will it long delay:
Even now your barren cause begins to bud,
And glorious shall the fruit be! Watch and pray;
For, lo! the kindling dawn that ushers in the day!"

In the succeeding number Mr. Garrison says: "We do not give up our country as sealed over to destruction, nor our countrymen as incorrigibly wicked. We have unshaken reliance in the omnipotence of truth. We still believe that the demands of justice will be satisfied; that the voice of mercy will melt the most adamant hearts; and that the land will be redeemed and regenerated through an enlightened and energetic public opinion. As long as there remains a single copy of the Declaration of American Independence, or of the Bible, in our land, we will not despair."

Steady to his purpose, depending on the goodness of his cause and the divine blessing—in the face of opposition unparalleled for its malignity, extent, and continuance, in modern times—in prison and out of prison—and with the prospect of a violent death continually before him, this extraordinary man has for six years been the pole-star of abolition to his countrymen; and has succeeded in establishing the cause of human rights among them on an imperishable basis.

After twelve months of unceasing labour, privation, and suffering, Mr. Garrison had the happiness to unite with a few other noble-minded individuals, on the 1st January, 1832, in the establishment of "THE NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY." This was an important point gained to the cause of abolition, inasmuch as this Society became the nucleus of other associations of a similar character, and finally led to the formation of that magnificent institution, "THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY."

The great principles enunciated, and the objects set forth, in the preamble and constitution of the Society, enforced in a powerful address to the public, became the text book of the abolitionists throughout the land. The following passages, extracted from that address, will show the spirit in which its managers proposed to carry on its operations.

"The object of our Society," say they, "is neither war nor sedition. Although the sufferings of that class of our brethren for whose rights we plead, are immeasurably greater than would be deemed sufficient with any other people to gird on the armour and march to the field of battle and of blood; yet, we hope ever to imbibe the spirit of Him who says, 'Resist not evil'—they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.' Governed by such a spirit, the weapons of our warfare can never be carnal. The only influence we can exert must be that of *moral suasion*, and not of *coercion*. In the truth, and the God of truth alone, we trust for the success of our exertions; and with the truth, and in the name of the God of truth, we plead for the cause of humanity."

"The fundamental principle upon which our constitution is based, is our SAVIOUR'S GOLDEN RULE: '*All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.*' Hence the grand articles of our creed: 'That God hath made of *one blood* all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth;'—that all men are created *equal*; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; and that among these are life, *liberty*, and the pursuit of happiness."

"We believe that slavery is an evil *now*; and, of course, the slaves ought to be *now* emancipated * * * * * every principle which proves slavery unjust, an evil, and a curse, equally demonstrates the duty of *immediate manumission*."

Such are the principles and spirit in which the New England Anti-slavery Society entered upon its noble career. Uncheered by the countenance of the influential—unsupported by the gold of the wealthy—unsustained even by the prayers of the church—execrated at the south, and despised at the north—it

circulated the truth; it brought "to light the hidden works of darkness;" it put the brand of moral reprobation on the slave system; and, under the divine blessing, has already achieved a great triumph for humanity.

At the first anniversary meeting of the Society it was resolved: "That the formation of a National Anti-Slavery Society is essential to the complete regeneration of public sentiment on the subject of slavery, and to the speedy overthrow of that iniquitous system; and that the board of managers be authorized to call a national meeting of the friends of abolition for the purpose of organizing such a Society, at such time and place as they shall deem expedient."

In the report of the managers presented to this meeting is the following passage: "The immediate abolition of slavery will purify the churches at the south, which are now red with innocent blood, and 'filled with all unrighteousness.' It is impossible that religion should prosper, when the pastors and members of churches trade in the souls of men! 'How is the gold become dim! How is the most fine gold changed! The whole head is sick, the whole heart is faint.' Now abolish slavery, and the gospel will have free course, run, and be glorified; salvation will flow in a current broad and deep; and for a short time only can it be reproachfully said, that there exist two millions of slaves in a Christian land."

In the early part of the year 1823, Mr. Garrison was deputed to this country on an Anti-slavery mission. It is needless to add how well he executed the duties devolved on him. Whilst here he effectually exposed the nature, operations, and tendencies of the American Colonization Society. He showed that, notwithstanding all its specious pretences, it was founded on prejudice against colour, and was practically, if not essentially, a pro-slavery institution. He took with him, on his return to his native land, the celebrated "Protest" against it, signed by Wilberforce, Macaulay, Buxton, Cropper, George Stephen, and other leading abolitionists. The publication of that important document in the United States fell like a thunder-bolt on that infamous scheme. Its most active, intelligent, and conscientious supporters are rapidly withdrawing themselves from its pernicious influence, and arraying themselves on the side of the abolitionists. Such men as Birney and Thome, Jay and Smith, have given in their adhesion to the principles of the American Anti-slavery Society. The two first were slave-holders in Kentucky, and both have manumitted their slaves, and are now efficient labourers in the cause of negro emancipation. Judge Jay has written an elaborate work on Colonization and Abolition, in which he fully detects and exposes the character of the former, and establishes the claims of the latter to the zealous support of American philanthropists. Gerrit Smith, until a recent period a pillar of the Colonization Society, has now become the munificent supporter of its antagonist, the American Anti-slavery Society. Other triumphs of a similar nature might be recorded, but these are given to show the class of men who are now rallying round the standard of immediate and entire emancipation in America, and who are destined to deliver their country from the disgrace and curse of slavery.

It was during this year, also, that the New York City Anti-slavery Society was formed, and "THE EMANCIPATOR," a weekly abolition publication, issued. This new auxiliary in the good cause was chiefly supported by that eminent philanthropist, Arthur Tappan; and is now the official organ of the American Anti-slavery Society, having a very extensive circulation throughout the whole country, and exercising a most powerful influence, by the admirable spirit and

ability with which it is conducted, over the public mind. In its declaration of principles, after having asserted the inherent right of every human being to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and denounced slavery as "unjust, cruel, oppressive, and dangerous," and as a direct violation of the divine law, "*Thou shalt not steal*," it says: "This paper will advocate THE ENTIRE AND IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION OF ALL SLAVES. Such a course will be advocated, because it is *the only just, wise, safe, and advantageous course* which can be pursued. *Facts* will be adduced to support appeals; appeals will be made in the spirit of kindness; kindness will be sustained by the force of conviction; conviction will be grounded on the power of truth; truth will be persevered in, until labour shall cease."

In pursuance of the resolution of the New England Anti-slavery Society, a convention was called, and was attended by sixty-two delegates from various states, who met together at Philadelphia for the purpose of forming a National Anti-slavery Society. The sittings of this convention lasted three days, during which every branch of the great subject of emancipation was fully and ably discussed. Every day's proceeding was opened and concluded with solemn prayer, and was eminently characterized by the spirit of fraternal love and unanimity.

Among the various resolutions passed by the convention it is most gratifying to find the following, viz.: "Resolved—That this convention, acting under a sense of dependance on Almighty God for the accomplishment of the object they have assembled to promote, do affectionately recommend to the Christian church throughout the land, to observe the LAST MONDAY EVENING OF EACH MONTH in a religious manner, to seek and implore the divine aid in behalf of the enslaved and the free people of colour."

This emphatic recognition of the divine agency as necessary to the prosperous issue of their cause, forcibly appeals to the pious and prayerful sympathies of British Christians; and it is earnestly hoped, that not a few of them will unite with their transatlantic brethren on *the last Monday in each month*, to implore the divine blessing on their "work of faith and labour of love."

At the conclusion of its labours the following Declaration of Sentiments was unanimously adopted, and under feelings of the deepest responsibility signed by the members of the convention. A more important and eloquent exposition of Anti-slavery principles was perhaps never written. No hesitation is, therefore, felt in recording the whole of it in these pages. It is worthy of being inscribed in letters of gold.

THE Convention assembled in the city of Philadelphia, to organize a National Anti-Slavery Society, promptly seize the opportunity to promulgate the following Declaration of Sentiments, as cherished by them in relation to the enslavement of one-sixth portion of the American people.

More than fifty-seven years have elapsed since a band of patriots convened in this place, to devise measures for the deliverance of this country from a foreign yoke. The corner-stone upon which they founded the Temple of Freedom was broadly this—"That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness." At the sound of their trumpet-call, three millions of people rose up as from the sleep of death, and rushed to the strife of blood; deeming it more glorious to die instantly as freemen, than desirable to live one hour as slaves. They were few in number—poor in resources; but the honest conviction that Truth, Justice, and Right were on their side, made them invincible.

We have met together for the achievement of an enterprise, without which, that of our fathers is incomplete, and which, for its magnitude, solemnity, and probable results upon the destiny of the world, as far transcends theirs, as moral truth does physical force.

In purity of motive, in earnestness of zeal, in decision of purpose, in intrepidity of action, in steadfastness of faith, in sincerity of spirit, we would not be inferior to them.

Their principles led them to wage war against their oppressors, and to spill human blood like water, in order to be free. Ours forbid the doing of evil that good may come, and lead us to reject, and to entreat the oppressed to reject, the use of all carnal weapons for deliverance from bondage—relying solely upon those which are spiritual, and mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds.

Their measures were physical resistance—the marshalling in arms—the hostile array—the mortal encounter. Ours shall be such only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption—the destruction of error by the potency of truth—the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love—and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance.

Their grievances, great as they were, were trifling in comparison with the wrongs and sufferings of those for whom we plead. Our fathers were never slaves—never bought and sold like cattle—never shut out from the light of knowledge and religion—never subjected to the lash of brutal taskmasters.

But those, for whose emancipation we are striving—constituting at the present time at least one-sixth part of our countrymen,—are recognized by the laws, and treated by their fellow-beings as marketable commodities—as goods and chattels—as brute beasts; are plundered daily of the fruits of their toil without redress;—really enjoy no constitutional nor legal protection from licentious and murderous outrages upon their persons;—are ruthlessly torn asunder—the tender babe from the arms of its frantic mother—the heart-broken wife from her weeping husband—at the caprice or pleasure of irresponsible tyrants;—and, for the crime of having a dark complexion, suffer the pangs of hunger, the infliction of stripes, and the ignominy of brutal servitude. They are kept in heathenish darkness by laws expressly enacted to make their instruction a criminal offence.

These are the prominent circumstances in the condition of more than Two Millions of our people, the proof of which may be found in thousands of indisputable facts, and in the laws of the slave-holding States.

Hence we maintain—

That in view of the civil and religious privileges of this nation, the guilt of its oppression is unequalled by any other on the face of the earth;—and, therefore,—That it is bound to repent instantly, to undo the heavy burden, to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free.

We further maintain—That no man has a right to enslave or imbrute his brother—to hold or acknowledge him, for one moment, as a piece of merchandise—to keep back his hire by fraud—or to brutalize his mind by denying him the means of intellectual, social, and moral improvement.

The right to enjoy liberty is inalienable. To invade it, is to usurp the prerogative of Jehovah. Every man has a right to his own body—to the products of his own labour—to the protection of law—and to the common advantages of society. It is piracy to buy or steal a native African, and subject him to servitude. Surely the sin is as great to enslave an American as an African.

Therefore we believe and affirm—That there is no difference in principle, between the African slave-trade and American slavery;—

That every American citizen, who retains a human being in involuntary bondage, is, according to Scripture, a man-stealer;—

That the slaves ought instantly to be set free, and brought under the protection of law;—

That if they had lived from the time of Pharaoh down to the present period, and had been entailed through successive generations, their right to be free could never have been alienated, but their claims would have constantly risen in solemnity;—

Brief Notices of the Progress of Abolition.

That all those laws which are now in force, admitting the right of slavery, are, therefore, before God, utterly null and void ; being an audacious usurpation of the Divine prerogative, a daring infringement on the law of nature, a base overthrow of the very foundations of the social compact, a complete extinction of all the relations, endearments, and obligations of mankind, and a presumptuous transgression of all the holy commandments—and that, therefore, they ought to be instantly abrogated.

We further believe and affirm—

That all persons of colour who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise of the same prerogatives as others ; and that the paths of preferment, of wealth, and of intelligence, shall be opened as widely to them as to persons of a white complexion.

We maintain that no compensation should be given to the planters emancipating their slaves—

Because it would be a surrender of the great fundamental principle, that man cannot hold property in man ;—

Because slavery is a crime, and therefore it is not an article to be sold ;—

Because the holders of slaves are not the just proprietors of what they claim ;—freeing the slaves is not depriving them of property, but restoring it to the right owner ;—it is not wronging the master, but righting the slave—restoring him to himself ;—

Because immediate and general emancipation would only destroy nominal, not real property ; it would not amputate a limb or break a bone of the slaves, but by infusing motives into their breasts, would make them doubly valuable to the masters as free labourers ; and

Because if compensation is to be given at all, it should be given to the outraged and guiltless slaves, and not to those who have plundered and abused them.

We regard as delusive, cruel, and dangerous, any scheme of expatriation which pretends to aid, either directly or indirectly, in the emancipation of the slaves, or to be a substitute for the immediate and total abolition of slavery.

We fully and unanimously recognise the sovereignty of each State, to legislate exclusively on the subject of the slavery which is tolerated within its limits. We concede that Congress, under the present national compact, has no right to interfere with any of the slave States, in relation to this momentous subject.

But we maintain that Congress has a right, and is solemnly bound, to suppress the domestic slave-trade between the several States, and to abolish slavery in those portions of our territory which the constitution has placed under its exclusive jurisdiction.

We also maintain that there are, at the present time, the highest obligations resting upon the people of the free States, to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States. They are now living under a pledge of their tremendous physical force to fasten the galling fetters of tyranny upon the limbs of millions in the southern States ;—they are liable to be called at any moment to suppress a general insurrection of the slaves ;—they authorize the slave-owner to vote for three-fifths of his slaves as property, and thus enable him to perpetuate his oppression ;—they support a standing army at the south for its protection ;—and they seize the slave who has escaped into their territories, and send him back to be tortured by an enraged master or a brutal driver.

This relation to slavery is criminal and full of danger—it must be broken up.

These are our views and principles—these, our designs and measures. With entire confidence in the over-ruling justice of God, we plant ourselves upon the Declaration of our independence, and upon the truths of Divine Revelation, as upon the Everlasting Rock.

We shall organize Anti-Slavery Societies, if possible, in every city, town, and village of our land.

We shall send forth agents to lift up the voice of remonstrance, of warning, of entreaty, and rebuke.

We shall circulate, unsparingly and extensively, anti-slavery tracts and periodicals.

We shall enlist the Pulpit and the Press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb.

We shall aim at a purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery.

We shall encourage the labour of freemen over that of slaves, by giving a preference to their productions ; and

We shall spare no exertions nor means to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance.

Our trust for victory is solely in God. We may be personally defeated, but our principles never. Truth, Justice, and Humanity, must and will gloriously triumph. Already a host is coming up to the help of the Lord against the mighty, and the prospect before us is full of encouragement.

Submitting this Declaration to the candid examination of the people of this country, and of the friends of liberty all over the world, we hereby affix our signatures to it ; pledging ourselves that, under the guidance and by the help of Almighty God, we will do all that in us lies, consistently with this Declaration of our principles, to overthrow the most execrable system of slavery that has ever been witnessed upon earth—to deliver our land from its deadliest curse—to wipe out the foulest stain which rests upon our national escutcheon—and to secure to the coloured population of the United States all the rights and privileges which belong to them as men and as Americans—come what may to our persons, our interests, or our reputations—whether we live to witness the triumph of Justice, Liberty, and Humanity, or perish untimely as martyrs in this great, *benevolent*, and holy cause.

David Thurston
Nathan Winslow
Joseph Southwick
James Frederick Otis
Isaac Winslow
David Cambell
Orson S. Murray
Daniel S. Southmayd
Effingham L. Capron
Joshua Coffin
Amos A. Phelps
John G. Whittier
Horace P. Wakefield
James George Barbadoes
David T. Kimball, Jr.
Daniel E. Jewett
John Reid Cumbell
Nathanael Southard
Arnold Buffum
William Green, Jun.
Abraham L. Cox
William Goodell
Elisha Wright, Jun.
Charles W. Denison
John Frost
George Bourne
Evan Lewis
Edwin A. Atlee
Robert Purvis

Bartholomew Fussell
David Jones
Enoch Mack, 2d
James Loughhead
John M'Cullough
Edwin P. Atlee
James M. M'Kim
William Lloyd Garrison
Ray Potter
John Prentice
George W. Benson
Samuel Joseph May
Alpheus Kingsley, Jun.
Edwin A. Stillman
Simeon Smith Jocelyn
Robert Bernard Hall
Beriah Green
Lewis Tappan
John Rankin
Aaron Vickers
John R. Sleeper
Lucius Gillingham
John Sharp, Jun.
James Mott
James White
Jonathan Parkhurst
Chalkey Gillingham
John M. Sturling
Milton Sutliff

James M'Crummell
Thomas Shipley

Levi Sutliff
Thomas Whitson

Signed in the Adelphi Hall, in the City of Philadelphia, on the 6th day of December, 1833.

These brief notices of the origin and progress of the abolition cause in America demonstrate its purely benevolent and religious character, and the peaceful means by which it expects to accomplish its purpose. It is neither sectarian nor political in its spirit or designs. It aims at the overthrow of the most intolerable and iniquitous system of slavery which exists in the world. The men who conduct it are wise in counsel, and decisive in action; and notwithstanding the fierce and brutal spirit with which they have been continually assailed, it is clear that, from the success which has hitherto attended their labours, the doom of slavery is sealed.

SLAVE TRADING AT NEW YORK.

[From the *New York Emancipator*.]

THE RUSSIAN FLAG.—It seems that the Emperor of Russia is determined that *his* flag shall not be used with impunity in carrying on the accursed slave-trade. Reader! what think you of "Hail Columbia, happy land," when the Imperial Autocrat of all the Russias deems it necessary to authorize the following notice to be published in the newspapers of this republic? Has it come to this, that pirates—those enemies of the human race—the slave pirates, the most debased of all pirates, shall make their rendezvous in our harbours, fit out their vessels under our own eyes, and then put to sea in defiance of our laws and magistrates? It is even so.

"CONSULAR NOTICE.—Certain individuals, who, in defiance of the laws of their own country, still continue to engage in the African slave-trade, having given cause for suspicion that they intend to make use of the Russian flag as a protection against the right of search and seizure, mutually assumed and conceded by the powers participating in the treaty for the suppression of this nefarious traffic, the undersigned, the Russian Consul General at New York, being specially instructed by his government, gives hereby public notice to all persons whom it may concern, that the Russian flag can in no case be resorted to without the previous permission of the Imperial government, and without legal authorization in due form, and in strict accordance with the laws of the empire; that any proceeding to the contrary shall be considered as a fraud, exposing the persons guilty of it to all its consequences; and that no slave trader, in any circumstances whatever, when seized under the Russian flag, or otherwise, can invoke the aid of the Imperial government to screen him from just and well-merited punishment.

" Russe du Consulate General, New York, April 2, 1836.

"ALEXIS EUSTAPHIEVE."

STATISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES' SLAVE POPULATION.

It is commonly supposed that the slavery of the United States is not, like that of the West India sugar colonies, eminently destructive to human life. By many it is thought to be rather friendly to man, as a mere animal. A careful inspection of the census will show this to be a mistake. It will show a system by which nature's geometric power of increase is brought into full play to create a *supply* of life adequate to an enormously enhanced *consumption*. It will reveal some of the secrets of the internal slave-trade, and indicate with certainty a catastrophe, to which we are approaching.

To place the necessary data before the reader, we give, first, a synopsis of the slave and free colored population, with the ratio of slaves to free whites in 1820 and 1830.

SLAVE, FREE WHITE, AND FREE COLORED POPULATION.—No. I.

States and Territories.	Slaves. 1790.	Slaves. 1800.	Slaves. 1810.	Slaves. 1820.	Slaves. 1830.	Free Whites. 1820.	Free Whites. 1830.	Ratio of Slaves to F. Whites 1820.	Ratio of Slaves to F. Whites 1830.	Free Colored. 1790.	Free Colored. 1800.	Free Colored. 1810.	Free Colored. 1820.	Free Colored. 1830.
Maine . . . . .	.	.	.	.	6	297,406	398,260	0	Less than 1 per cent	538	818	969	929	1,171
N. Hampshire	158	8	.	.	5	213,375	268,721	0	"	630	856	970	786	602
Vermont	17	.	.	.	.	234,861	279,776	0	"	255	557	750	903	881
Massachusetts . . . . .	.	.	.	.	4	516,547	603,359	0	Less than 1 per cent	5,465	6,452	6,737	6,740	7,045
Rhode Island	952	381	108	48	14	79,491	93,261	Less than 1 per cent	"	3,469	3,304	3,609	3,554	3,564
Connecticut	2,761	951	310	97	25	267,301	289,603	"	"	2,801	5,330	6,453	7,850	8,047
New York	21,324	20,343	15,017	10,088	76	1,333,445	1,868,061	"	"	4,654	10,374	25,333	29,279	44,869
New Jersey	11,423	12,422	10,851	7,557	2,254	257,558	300,266	2.9	"	2,762	4,402	7,843	12,460	18,303
Pennsylvania	3,737	1,706	795	211	403	1,019,040	1,309,900	Less than 1 per cent	"	6,537	14,561	22,492	30,202	37,930
Ohio . . . . .	.	.	.	.	6	576,711	928,329	"	"	.	337	1,899	4,723	9,568
Indiana . . . . .	.	135	237	190	3	145,758	339,399	"	"	.	163	393	1,230	3,629
Illinois . . . . .	.	.	168	917	747	53,837	155,061	"	"	.	.	613	457	1,637
Michigan . . . . .	.	.	24	.	32	8,722	31,346	"	"	.	.	120	174	261
Tot. in F. States	40,375	35,946	27,510	19,108	3,575	5,034,052	6,865,342	.	.	27,109	47,154	78,181	99,287	137,507
Delaware	8,887	6,153	4,177	4,509	3,292	55,282	57,601	8.1	5.7	3,899	8,268	13,136	12,958	15,855
Maryland	103,036	105,635	111,502	107,398	102,994	260,222	291,108	41.2	35.3	8,043	19,587	33,927	39,730	52,938
Dis. of Columbia . . . . .	.	3,244	5,395	6,377	6,119	22,614	27,563	28.2	22.2	.	783	2,549	4,048	6,152
Virginia	293,427	345,796	392,518	425,153	469,757	603,324	694,300	70.4	67.6	12,766	20,124	30,570	36,889	47,348
N. Carolina	100,572	133,296	168,824	205,017	245,601	419,260	472,843	48.9	52	4,975	7,043	10,266	14,612	19,543
S. Carolina	107,004	146,151	196,365	258,475	315,401	237,440	257,863	109	122.3	1,801	3,185	4,554	6,826	7,921
Georgia	29,264	59,404	105,218	149,656	217,531	189,570	296,806	78.9	73.3	398	1,019	1,801	1,763	2,486
Kentucky	11,830	40,343	80,561	126,732	165,218	434,826	517,787	29.1	31.9	114	741	1,713	2,759	4,917
Tennessee	3,417	13,584	44,535	80,107	141,603	339,979	535,746	23.3	26.4	361	309	1,317	2,727	4,555
Alabama . . . . .	.	.	.	41,879	117,549	83,451	190,406	49	61.7	.	.	.	571	1,572
Mississippi . . . . .	.	3,489	17,088	32,814	65,659	42,171	70,443	77.8	93.2	.	182	240	458	519
Louisiana . . . . .	.	.	34,660	69,064	109,588	73,383	89,231	93.9	122.8	.	.	7,555	10,960	16,710
Missouri . . . . .	.	.	3,011	10,222	25,091	55,757	114,795	18.3	21.8	.	.	6.7	347	569
Arkansas . . . . .	.	.	.	1,617	4,576	12,570	25,671	12.8	17.8	.	.	.	59	141
Florida . . . . .	.	.	.	.	15,501	.	18,385	.	84.3	.	.	.	.	844
Total S. States	657,437	857,095	1,163,854	1,519,020	2,005,475	2,831,789	3,660,548	53.6	54.7	32,357	61,241	108,265	134,707	182,070
Grand Total	697,812	893,041	1,191,564	1,538,128	2,009,050	7,865,841	10,525,890	19.5	19	59,466	108,395	186,446	233,994	319,577

The ratio of the aggregate increase of the slaves in the slave states from 1820 to 1830 was 2.8 per cent., per annum; if we compare the increase of individual states with the increase by this ratio, we shall have the following result:—

Loss from 1820 to 1830, in	GAIN in the same time, in
Delaware 2,661	Georgia 19,949
Maryland 38,797	Tennessee 35,842
District of Columbia 2,300	Alabama 62,259
Virginia 91,549	Mississippi 22,337
North Carolina 25,071	Louisiana 18,407
South Carolina 25,849	Missouri 11,595
Kentucky 2,104	Arkansas 2,441
188,331	Florida 15,501*
	188,331

Thus in 10 years were 188,331 slaves transferred from the northeast to the southwest. A part of this transfer is due to emigration, but another cause will be shown by the following tables.

No. II.

PARTICULARS OF COLOURED POPULATION IN 1830.

	DISTRICTS.	AGES.					Over 100.
		Under 10.	Of 10 and under 24.	Of 24 and under 36.	Of 36 and under 55.	Of 55 and under 100.	
SLAVES.	Delaware	1,088	1,470	475	163	91	5
	Maryland	34,882	33,995	17,177	11,464	5,373	103
	Dist. of Columbia	1,610	2,294	1,154	766	290	5
	Eastern Virginia	147,824	118,648	75,073	52,179	22,340	256
	Western Virginia	19,383	17,190	9,043	5,710	2,090	21
	North Carolina	90,838	75,607	40,307	27,118	11,484	247
	South Carolina	103,344	90,117	62,399	43,680	15,679	182
	Georgia	76,469	68,170	39,967	25,143	7,612	170
	Kentucky	62,475	54,795	27,374	15,606	4,852	111
	Eastern Tennessee	6,675	6,256	2,755	1,616	570	15
	Western Tennessee	47,607	41,320	20,728	10,923	3,050	89
	Alabama	43,223	39,222	22,188	10,056	2,807	53
	Mississippi	21,897	21,634	13,930	6,628	1,527	43
	Eastern Louisiana	18,888	25,146	22,443	11,003	2,905	60
	Western Louisiana	8,426	9,393	6,875	3,689	736	24
	Missouri	9,483	8,969	4,257	1,937	427	18
	Arkansas	1,648	1,650	794	385	93	1
	Florida	5,061	4,951	3,391	1,716	401	1
FREE.	TOTAL	700,820	620,827	370,330	229,782	82,332	1,404
	New Jersey	13	32	819	834	549	7
	Pennsylvania	55	208	47	36	52	5
	Illinois	242	246	137	99	18	5
FREE.	Delaware	5,151	4,618	2,749	2,282	1,029	26
	Maryland	16,221	13,412	9,409	8,677	5,083	136
	United States	96,004	91,217	60,191	46,598	24,934	655

* A part of these were received with the territory, but the error is not material.

No. III.

ADULTS RELATIVE TO A GIVEN NUMBER OF CHILDREN,
DERIVED FROM NO. II.

	DISTRICTS.	AGES.					
		Under 10.	Of 10 and under 24.	Of 24 and under 36.	Of 36 and under 55.	Of 55 and under 100.	Over 100.
SLAVES.	Delaware.....	10,000	13,511	4,366	1,498	836	46
	Maryland.....	10,000	9,746	4,924	3,264	1,540	29
	Dist. of Columbia....	10,000	14,248	7,168	4,758	1,801	31
	Eastern Virginia.....	10,000	8,026	5,079	3,530	1,511	17
	Western Virginia....	10,000	8,869	4,665	2,946	1,078	11
	North Carolina.....	10,000	8,323	4,437	2,985	1,264	27
	South Carolina.....	10,000	8,720	6,038	4,227	1,517	18
	Georgia.....	10,000	8,915	5,227	3,288	995	22
	Kentucky.....	10,000	8,770	4,282	2,498	777	18
	Eastern Tennessee..	10,000	9,372	4,127	2,421	854	22
	Western Tennessee..	10,000	8,680	4,354	2,294	641	19
	Alabama.....	10,000	9,074	5,133	2,327	649	12
	Mississippi.....	10,000	9,880	6,376	3,027	697	20
	Eastern Louisiana....	10,000	13,313	11,882	5,825	1,538	5
	Western Louisiana...	10,000	11,148	8,159	4,378	873	5
	Missouri.....	10,000	9,458	4,489	2,043	450	19
	Arkansas.....	10,000	10,012	4,818	2,336	595	6
	Florida.....	10,000	9,783	6,700	3,391	792	2
	AVERAGE of above....	10,000	8,859	5,284	3,279	1,175	20
	Illinois.....	10,000	10,165	5,661	4,021	744	207
FREE.	Delaware.....	10,000	8,965	5,337	4,430	1,998	50
	Maryland.....	10,000	8,268	5,801	5,349	3,134	84
	United States.....	10,000	9,501	6,270	4,854	2,597	68

It is unfortunate for our purpose that the census includes in the same class slaves from ten to twenty-four years of age ; nevertheless, a glance at the latter table will show a great excess of adults at the south-west, and, with exceptions rather apparent than real, a corresponding deficiency at the north-east. In regard to slaves between the ages of ten and thirty-six, the actual deviation from the average is as follows :—

EXCESS.		DEFICIENCY.	
Delaware	406	Virginia	16,523
Maryland	1,838	North Carolina	12,556
District of Columbia	1,171	Kentucky	6,189
South Carolina	6,357	Tennessee	5,709
Alabama	279	Missouri	186
Mississippi	4,597	Georgia	13
Louisiana	25,230		
Florida	1,185		
Arkansas	113		
	41,176		41,176

This immense disturbance of the natural state of the slave population could not have been produced by emigration. We do not pretend that it is the exact measure of the internal slave trade, it is far short of that. For, every child born in Louisiana, Mississippi, or South Carolina, of slaves brought into the state between 1820 and 1830, diminishes the excess ; while, on the other hand, the removal from Maryland or Virginia of those who would have been parents there, in the same time, tends to hide the deficiency in those states. Indeed, if the slave trade be excessive, the consequent want of young children will make an apparent excess of adults in the slave-selling states, which ex-

plains the excess in Delaware and Maryland, states that have sold more slaves for their population than any others.

The slaves, though they increase a little faster than the whites in the slave states, do not increase so fast as the whites in the whole country. The ratio of increase is the ratio of deaths less the ratio of births. The ratio of children under ten must be nearly the same as the ratio of births. Now, there are 47,134 slave children under ten more than there should be by the ratio of white children of the same age to the whole white population. Consequently the ratio of deaths must be much greater than among the whites, to make that of increase less. And this, too, while the colored are so much more *long-lived* than the whites, that, of the free colored people in 1830, there were 655 over 100, while of the whites there were only 539.

Again, the waste of life is shown by comparing the slave population with what it would be by the ratio of the free colored, the number of children being given:—

	Under 10.	Of 10 and under 24.	Of 24 and under 36.	Of 36 and under 55.	Of 55 and under 100.	Over 100.
Ratio of free colored,	700,820	665,875	439,389	340,161	182,016	4,781
Actual slave population.	700,820	620,827	370,330	229,782	82,332	1,404
Deficiency		45,048	69,059	110,379	99,684	3,377

Total deficiency, 327,547. If the ratio of free colored adults is too high by all those who had bought their freedom, it is too low by all those who had been taken off by seafaring, a much larger number, as will appear by comparing the sexes of the free colored. We affirm, then, that this deficiency represents a mass of more than 300,000 human beings, who were *prematurely worn out on the cotton and sugar plantations*.

By referring to the free colored population of the present slave states, it will be seen that there has been no considerable emancipation since 1810. The rate of increase from 1790 to 1800, was nearly 7 per cent. per annum; from 1800 to 1810, it was nearly 6 per cent.; from 1810 to 1820, it was little more than 2 per cent.; and from 1820 to 1830, it was 3 per cent.; but a trifle greater than the increase of the free white population during the same time.

By referring to the ratios of slaves to free whites, it will be seen that in the Carolinas and all the slave states west of the mountains, the slaves gained upon the whites. In South Carolina and Louisiana in 1830 there were more than 122 slaves to every 100 whites. The ratio of slaves to whites was greater still in particular districts of those and some other states. In the parish of Jefferson La. there were 4907 slaves to 1596 whites. In Charleston district, S. C., exclusive of the city, there were 46,548 to 7,976 whites; and in the parish of St. John's Colleton, 9,480 slaves to 532 whites, or about eighteen slaves to every individual white. In Georgia the slaves have increased rapidly, and exceed the whites in some of the counties, especially on the coast, but their relative number in the state was diminished by the large immigration of whites.

The census of 1830 shows a few slaves in the free states. In Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Indiana, there can be no slaves except those of sojourners from slave states. Massachusetts, then including Maine, abolished slavery by her *Bill of Rights*, in 1780; New Hampshire did the same by her constitution in 1792; and Vermont in 1793. The new states, made of the north-west territory, were prevented from holding slaves by the ordinance of Congress of 1787. In Illinois, however, slaves are held by indenture, who cannot be sold out of the state, nor in it, except by their own consent, and have the privilege of being flogged by a magistrate. The same is perhaps true of the slaves in Michigan. Pennsylvania made all the children born of slaves after 1780 free when they should arrive at the age of twenty-eight. A few of the old stock are yet in slavery, and some under twenty-eight, which seem to have been illegally increased since 1820 by accessions from slave states. New York enacted that those born of slaves after July 4th, 1799, should serve only till twenty-eight if males, and twenty-

five if females. Again she enacted that those born after 1817, should serve only till twenty-one; and in 1827, all the old stock, born before 1799, should be free at once. There may still be some of the servants under twenty-eight or twenty-one. Connecticut and Rhode Island made the children born after 1784 serve only till twenty-five. In New Jersey a similar Act began to take effect in 1804.

All the fearful effects of slavery, which are so clearly revealed by the census of 1830, are now going on upon a still larger scale. The production of cotton has doubled within the last ten years, and that of sugar has increased still faster. Every cent's advance in the price of either of these commodities, gives fresh impulse to the lash, which, even ten years ago, was sending to an untimely grave more than THIRTY THOUSAND HUMAN VICTIMS a year!

FACTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

Some years ago, a Baptist of Vermont was appointed a delegate to a number of Baptist associations. When he arrived in Philadelphia, he professed his intention to attend several of the associations in Virginia; and was especially anxious to comprehend the true character and operations of slavery. In that city he met with some brethren who understood the arcana of that hell-born contrivance; and by them he was warned not to be imposed upon by the external glitter, and the comfortable drapery of the menial attendants about the mansion-house, assumed during the meeting of the association, and then carefully laid aside for a similar festival; but he was enjoined privately to visit the "Negro Quarter," as the miserable huts of the coloured citizens are familiarly called. Thus adequately instructed, he proceeded on his journey.

About one-fourth of the time, which he had specified for his absence, had elapsed, when the Green Mountaineer was at the deacon's house in Philadelphia, and accounted for his speedy return by a statement to this effect. He had travelled on, gradually becoming more and more dissatisfied with the scenes which he daily witnessed, until he arrived about the Appomattox river, where he was received at the house of one of the slave-driving nabobs, on the evening prior to the meeting of the association. The next morning after breakfast, he proposed to take a walk, and by a circuitous route, unperceived, he obtained access to the "worn-out slaves." From them he speedily heard the heart-rending recital of their awful prison-house; the female violations, the unceasing stripes, the direful privations, and the frenzied despotism which were ever their inalienable portion. He also became acquainted with the audacious measures which were always adopted to impede among them all moral and religious instruction. About eleven

the horn resounded, and "the working hands" returned from the field to breakfast. The hard corn dough, which a hog can scarcely masticate, and insipid hommony, which hunger itself almost rejects, were their only food; and time until sunset would not be allowed to swallow any more even of that unsavoury compost. The men corroborated in full all the circumstances which the elder females had described; and the Vermont preacher retired from his coloured associates in the true *fanatical* humour which characterized the primitive puritans.

About one o'clock a number of ministers and delegates to the association having arrived, they were invited to a sumptuous dinner. The New-Englander was offered his choice of the whole; but his stomach was so *evangelically delicate*, that he could not eat. To all the apologies, entreaties, and apparent sympathies which encircled him, he finally ventured to make this homely reply: "My conscience will not permit me to partake of this food, while the people who work for it never taste a mouthful of necessary sustenance from one end of the year to the other. If I eat anything, it will be a plate of that hommony, or a slice of that corn bread, which the coloured people had for their breakfast." A bag of rattlesnakes let loose amongst them could not more have disturbed the men-stealers.

The test was decisive and complete. Immediately after he was admonished to go away the greatest distance possible that night, as, if he staid, he would surely be killed; and for his own safety, he was also advised not to attend any one of the Virginia associations. As the consequence, the Christian fled from the American Sodom and Gomorrah, to detail the facts to his brethren in Philadelphia.—*Bourne's Picture of Slavery.*

INTERNAL SLAVE TRADE.

[From the New York American.]

Mr. Editor—On looking into the National Intelligencer of the 10th February instant, I find that the House of Representatives has resolved that "Congress ought not to interfere in any way with slavery in the District of Columbia." Ayes 163, nays 47.

The same copy of the Intelligencer contains the following advertisements, viz.

CASH IN MARKET.

I wish to purchase a number of *servants* of both sexes, for which I will pay the highest market price. Persons wishing to sell, will do well to call at my residence near the National Hotel. Letters addressed to me through the Post-office shall receive the earliest attention.

WILLIAM H. WILLIAMS, Washington.

CASH FOR 200 NEGROES,

Including both sexes, from twelve to twenty-five years of age. Persons having servants to dispose of, will find it their interest to give me a call, as I will give higher prices than any other purchaser now in this market. I can at all times be found at the Mechanics' Hall, kept by B. O. Sheckle, and formerly kept by Isaac Beers, Seventh street, a few doors below Lloyd's tavern, opposite Centre Market. All communications promptly attended to.

JAMES H. RICH, Washington City.

CASH FOR 500 NEGROES,

Including both sexes, from 12 to 25 years of age. Persons having servants to dispose of will find it to their interest to give us a call, as we will give higher prices in cash than any other purchaser who is now or may hereafter come into the market.

FRANKLIN & ARMFIELD, Alexandria.

You may perhaps wonder, Mr. Editor, what gentlemen in the district of Columbia can want so many servants for. One advertises for an indefinite number—another for 200, and a third for 500! Please to take notice, that in two of these advertisements, reference is made to "THIS MARKET." The market alluded to is the district of Columbia, the SLAVE MARKET of the United States; and these gentlemen who want so many servants are SLAVE TRADERS. Of the value of this trade to the metropolis of the

American Republic, you may form some idea by the amount paid by the traders for the privilege of carrying it on. I quote from the laws of the CITY OF WASHINGTON, page 249: "For a license to trade or traffic in slaves for profit, whether as agent or otherwise, *four hundred dollars.*" But you may perhaps wonder again, Mr. Editor, what these gentlemen traders do with all their servants. Let us again recur to the National Intelligencer of the 10th instant. We there find the following notice:

ALEXANDRIA AND NEW-ORLEANS PACKETS.

Brig *Tribune*, Samuel C. Brush, master, will sail as above on the first of January; brig *Isaac Franklin*, W. Smith, master, on the 15th of January; brig *Uncas*, Nath. Boush, master, on the 1st of February. They will continue to leave this port on the 1st and 15th of each month throughout the shipping season. They are all vessels of the first class, commanded by experienced and accommodating officers, will at all times go up the Mississippi by steam, and every exertion used to promote the interest of shippers and comfort of passengers. Shippers may prevent disappointment by having their bills of lading ready the day previous to sailing, as they will go promptly at the time.

Servants, that are intended to be shipped, will at any time be received for *safe keeping* at 25 cents per day.

JOHN ARMFIELD, Alexandria.

29th Dec. 47.

Here we have, Mr. Editor, THREE SLAVERS constantly engaged in the trade, and owned by one dealer. Would you know how these slavers are fitted up for the accommodation of *servants*? Mr. J. Leavit, of New-York, visited the brig *Tribune*, one of the above, in 1834, and published an account of his visit. He says, "The hold is appropriated to the slaves, and is divided into two apartments. The after-hold will carry about 80 women, and the other about 100 men. On either side were two platforms running the whole length, one raised a few inches, and the other about half way up to the deck. They were about five feet and a half or six feet deep. On them they lie as close as they can stow away."

DISCUSSION BETWEEN MR. GEORGE THOMPSON AND THE REV. R. J. BRECKINRIDGE.

An important and deeply interesting discussion on the subject of American slavery has recently taken place in Glasgow, between Mr. George Thompson, the intrepid and able champion of the negro race, and the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, an American Presbyterian minister. It was continued during five evenings, and has been reported in the Glasgow Chronicle and the Patriot newspapers. We understand that the whole will be published in a separate pamphlet, which we shall take the earliest opportunity of introducing to our readers. At present we have only space to express our admiration of the pre-eminent ability and entire self-command which Mr. Thompson displayed throughout the discussion, and to tender him our thanks for the large mass of valuable information with which he has supplied the public. Never was a cause more triumphantly defended, nor the sophistries and evasions of an acute and merciless opponent more completely exposed. It would afford us pleasure to be able to record our approbation of the spirit in which Mr. Breckinridge conducted his part of the discussion. But truth compels us to say, that we have been grieved and disgusted at the rancorous hostility towards his opponent, which his speeches betray. He evidently sought to destroy the public reputation of Mr. Thompson, rather than to exhibit the real character of American slavery. No opportunity was lost of aiming a mortal blow at the character of one whose intrepid, disinterested, and successful exertions, on behalf of suffering humanity, entitle him to the respect of every virtuous mind. It is humiliating to see a Christian minister, more especially one who appears amongst us as a representative of a highly respectable and religious body in America, so completely surrendered to the influence of a bad passion. Our own impression in reading the report of the discussion has been, that Mr. Breckinridge must have brought to this country feelings of deep mortification, arising from Mr. Thompson's successful exposure of the delusive and wicked nature of the colonization scheme; and that his spleen mastered his judgment, and vented itself in a manner discreditable to his character, both as a gentleman and a Christian. The result of the discussion may be inferred from the following extract from a note, addressed to Mr. Thompson, by one of the most respectable ministers in Scotland, who had been present during the debate: "My dear Sir,—How are you? Glad and grateful, I dare say. God has given you and your cause victory and triumph. Poor Breckinridge! what crushed man!

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BAPTIST UNION.

It is well known to the anti-slavery public that the Annual Meetings of the Baptist Union have been looked forward to for some months with a feeling of very deep and general interest. The conduct of the deputation recently appointed by that body to visit the Baptist churches in America having given rise to discussions which involved the consistency and character of the body itself, it was feared either that public principles would be abandoned, or that personal collisions of a most injurious and exceptionable kind would ensue. Happily, however, these evils have been entirely avoided, and a series of measures has been adopted which do full justice to the anti-slavery feeling of the Baptist body, and promise to accomplish extensive good amongst the sister churches of America. The attendance at the meetings of the Union

was more numerous than on any former occasion. Representatives were present from all parts of the country, and a deep and thrilling interest was universally felt in the topic which was expected to engage the attention of the brethren. The ministers and messengers met on Monday, Tuesday, and Friday, the 20th, 21st, and 24th of June, and the public meeting was held on the 22nd. Several hours were occupied each day in discussing the relation sustained by the body to the American churches, and the extent to which it involved the English Baptists in the guilt of the slave system, so inconsistently sanctioned by a large portion of their transatlantic brethren. A considerable number of the ministers and messengers urged an immediate termination of the correspondence into which the *Union* had entered with the American Baptists, but others who were equally decided in their abhorrence of slavery pleaded that the law of Christ had not yet been fully obeyed—that remonstrance, faithful, earnest, solemn remonstrance, should be tried; and that on the effect of such remonstrance must depend the steps which should be taken. It was contended by the deputation that the American Baptists had not refused to receive communications from the *Union* on the subject of slavery, but that they (the deputation) on their own responsibility had abstained from introducing the topic at Richmond. It was ultimately agreed to try the effect of a firm and earnest appeal, and to suspend future proceedings on the result. All parties united in reprobating an intercourse which involved the condition either implied or expressed, that the Baptist Union was not publicly to protest against the wickedness of slavery, and openly to give to the abolitionists of America the benefit of their countenance and support. This sentiment was expressed in the third resolution, which was adopted by the brethren with the clear understanding that, if the executive of the Convention should refuse to lay the communications of the *Union* before the body which it represented, or that if the Convention should return an answer inconsistent with the immutable principles of righteousness and the sentiments of Christian charity,

all intercourse should cease with the slaveholding or slavery-sanctioning churches of America.* The resolution was as follows:

That the connexion with the Baptist churches in the United States contemplated by this Union, and actually resulting from its proceedings, consists wholly in the maintenance of a beneficial correspondence, having for its object the advantage of both parties, by an unfettered expression of opinion on all subjects connected with Christian consistency, the advancement of religion, and the glory of God.

As to the conduct of the deputation in America, different opinions were entertained. A large majority of the brethren deeply regretted that they had not identified themselves with the cause of abolition in that country by a public advocacy of its principles. No doubt, however, was entertained that they had acted conscientiously in the silence which they maintained, neither was an unkind or a disrespectful word addressed to them. All spoke their sentiments freely; and those who dissented from the propriety of their measures, and deemed them injurious to the Anti-slavery cause, yet gave them credit for the honesty of their decision. The second resolution was designed to embody these sentiments:

That we affectionately congratulate our esteemed brethren, Drs. Cox and Hoby, on their appearance amongst us this day, and tender to Almighty God our grateful sense of his goodness in having preserved them during their absence, and in returning them safely to their native land. That we desire to record our conviction of the diligence, zeal, and ability with which they prosecuted the denominational objects of their mission, and to convey to them our warmest thanks for the valuable information which they have supplied on these points. That having sent our brethren to promote, amongst other objects, the sacred cause of negro emancipation, we rejoice to learn that they did on very many occasions convey to the ministers and churches of the Baptist body in America, our abhorrence of the slave system amongst them; but that with the full assurance of the integrity of our brethren in the course which they adopted on this subject, we regret that the state of society rendered it advisable in their judgment, in order to the attainment of the more

* Patriot, June 27. Baptist Mag. 319.

strictly denominational objects, to refrain from introducing it in public meetings, and to withhold from the Abolition Society their encouragement and support.

The fourth resolution does full justice to the consistency of the Baptist denomination, by expressing in no measured terms its condemnation of the slave system, as it is unhappily allied with and influences the churches of America.

That this meeting presents its Christian acknowledgments for the kindness shown to its Deputation by the churches in America—both those of other denominations and those of our own—especially those meeting in the Triennial Convention of Baptist churches. That it holds in high admiration their munificent and well-sustained exertions for the dissemination of the Gospel, and for the education of Christian ministers and missionaries; and most cordially rejoicing in the large bestowment of the Divine blessing upon their widely extended labours, it receives with pleasure the kind invitation to continued intercourse addressed to them by their transatlantic brethren.

That whilst this meeting records with gratitude to Almighty God the fact, that many hundred of Baptist pastors and churches have entered their solemn protest against slavery, yet it cannot but refer with deep regret to the wide and dreadful prevalence of the system in America, and cannot but regard the repeal of all such laws as do in any way enforce or protect it, as an object of the greatest importance, demanding the vigorous exertion of all Christian pastors and churches, and their earnest perseverance in the use of those means which wisdom and piety may suggest for the immediate and universal extinction of an evil so disgraceful to any people possessing the Word of God. With increased solicitude does this meeting press this painful subject, inasmuch as it appears, that even pastors and members of churches are the possessors of slaves, many of whom are their own brethren in the Lord—thus themselves inflicting upon those who are united with them in the same ordinances of the Gospel, those cruel wrongs which are inseparable from a state of slavery, and incompatible with the maintenance of Christian fellowship.

That this meeting refers with regret to the deep-rooted prejudice which so extensively prevails in America, against free persons of color, by which many and grievous injuries are inflicted upon them: amongst these, more especially does it refer to that law which is understood to prevail in one or more of the States, which prohibits any one from teaching "any person of color, slave or free, to read or write,"—a law directly opposed to every feeling of humanity,

and to every principle of the Gospel, it, therefore, entreats the ministers and churches of Christ, in whom is neither "Jew nor Greek, barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free," to cast from them such ungenerous and unholy prejudice, and to put the enslaved people in possession of their social rights, in the seats of learning, the fellowship of citizens, and the sanctuaries of the Most High.

That this Meeting refers with confidence to the great experiment of emancipation in the colonial dependencies of the British empire, from which have proceeded many and great benefits; and expresses its conviction, that whatever evils have arisen, have sprung, not from the liberty that has been given, but from the restrictions by which it was accompanied.

That this meeting convinced of the paramount importance of the objects to which these resolutions relate, most earnestly, most respectfully, most affectionately, and most solemnly requests that large and influential section of the Christian church, the Baptists in the United States of America, whose churches contain (it is computed) more than 600,000 members, and whose rise and progress from the days of Roger Williams display so much of the grace and power of the Redeemer—by their sense of equity, by their love of liberty, and by their hope of salvation, to rouse themselves to the great but plain duty of securing first the rights of their oppressed but degraded fellow-subjects, and then of withholding no effort from the general cause of humanity and freedom, until the jubilee of universal emancipation is proclaimed.

This resolution is to be forwarded to the executive of the triennial convention, accompanied by a letter from the committee of the Union. Its transit will be followed by many prayers; and we hope in some future number to have to record the proofs of its salutary influence. The Baptist denomination has now taken a position worthy of itself. As it was foremost in the struggle against West India slavery, so it has now set an example which other churches must imitate, or else incur the reproach of being indifferent to the interests of humanity, and the honor of the Christian name. May their zeal abound—may a holy emulation be enkindled, till the whole moral force of British Christians shall be directed against this monstrous form of wickedness, which, lurking in the very precincts of the church, extends over all its operations an enfeebling and paralyzing influence.

RESOLUTIONS OF SEVERAL ASSOCIATED BODIES ON THE SUBJECT OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

At the Annual Meeting of the Congregational Union of Scotland, very numerous attended by ministers and members of the Congregational churches, and held in Argyle Square chapel, Edinburgh, on Thursday evening, the 5th May, 1836, the Rev. G. D. CULLEN, of Leith, in the chair. After the ordinary business had been transacted, the following resolutions on the subject of American Slavery were moved by the Rev. RALPH WARDLAW, D.D., of Glasgow, seconded by the Rev. DAVID RUSSELL, D.D., of Dundee, and unanimously adopted :

1. That, as a meeting of the Congregational Union of Scotland, we are not to be considered, in regard to any sentiments we express, or any resolutions we adopt, as sustaining an official and representative character, or as assuming any kind or measure of authority, which would be at variance with the great distinguishing principle maintained by us, of the mutual independence of the churches of Christ; that, in the resolutions which follow, we speak for ourselves, whilst, at the same time, we have abundant ground for entertaining the most confident assurance, that they are in full accordance with the views, and wishes, and prayers of the great body of the brethren throughout the country with whom we are associated.

2. That, in the spirit of those Christian principles which are the foundation of our personal hopes, the elements of our spiritual life, and the charter of our New Covenant liberties, we look back, with devout thankfulness to the God of Providence, to the decision of our legislature, by which, after a long and arduous struggle, the slave trade was branded with the stigma, and condemned to the punishment, of felony; and, in the same spirit, we contemplate the more recent act, following up the abolition of that nefarious traffic, by which a final termination has been put to slavery itself throughout all the colonial dependencies of the British empire—an act by which a seemly and glorious consistency has been imparted to our character and institutions as a free people, and a dark cloud has been dispelled, which had long brooded over our beloved land, heavily charged with the vengeance of offended heaven.

3. That at the time when this act was passed—an act demanded alike by the claims of humanity, justice, religion, and sound policy—one, and not the least of the sources of our grateful joy was, the sanguine anticipation of the beneficial influence

which might be exerted on the counsels and conduct of other people, by the example of a nation occupying, through divine favour, so exalted and commanding a position as our country does, amongst the governments, not of Europe only, but of the world—an influence of which our high estimate led us to cherish the delightfully cheering hope, that, at no distant period, “every yoke should be broken,” and, in all lands, “the oppressed should go free.”

4. That we cannot but regard with feelings of special interest our transatlantic brethren in the United States of America, congratulating them on their participation with ourselves, through the kindness of the same universal Ruler, in the precious blessings of a common freedom and a common Christianity; bolder in admiration the amount of Christian liberality and Christian effort evinced by them, in the dissemination of the word of God, and of the education requisite for the use of it through every part of their own territory, as well as for the complete evangelization of the world; but that in proportion to the delight we have experienced in hearing of such triumphs of Christian principle amongst them, have been our astonishment and concern, that both their freedom and their religion should be so sadly tarnished by the incongruous association with them of slavery, to so vast an extent, in all its hideous forms of traffic and oppression, and in regard to millions of immortal fellow-creatures, dependent upon them; the systematic proscription by severe penal laws of all that instruction which might impart, to the victims of corporeal thralldom, the knowledge which enlightens and saves the soul, and the liberty wherewith Christ makes sinners free; and our wonder and sorrow are rendered the more intense by the information, that so many Christian men and Christian ministers stand chargeable with what we are constrained to denominate the sin of slave-holding and slave-dealing, in direct contravention, as we hold it to be, of those principles and precepts, which it is the very object of the Christian ministry to expound and inculcate, and of the Christian character to exemplify.

5. That “God having made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the whole earth”—and all, sprung from a common origin, having become partakers in a common guilt, the objects of a common redemption, we sincerely lament the extensive and deeply-rooted prevalence of a prejudice so unworthy the generosity of free-

men, and of the humility and dignity of Christians, as that against colour—a prejudice by which so many millions of fellow-men are placed under an unmerited and disgraceful opprobrium, are excluded from intercourse, are prevented from availing themselves of such advantages as might enable them to evince their fair average of intellectual endowment and moral capabilities; and so to assume the position in society to which they might thus establish their claim; and even, in many instances, doomed to retain the stigma of marked separation in those ordinances of Christian communion, where all distinctions ought to be merged in the common characters of fellow-sinners and fellow-saints.

6. That we cannot adopt, as the principle of our conduct, the spirit of the first murderer, "Am I my brother's keeper?"—but in the better spirit of that religion which associates in one holy and blessed fraternity "all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both theirs and ours," and which imperatively prohibits our "suffering sin upon our brethren," we feel it our incumbent duty to expostulate most affectionately, most respectfully, but most earnestly, with our transatlantic fellow-Christians, imploring them to lay to heart, in this matter, their duty to God the common Father, to Christ the common Saviour, to their kindred of the human family, and especially to those members of the redeemed family of God, who, with themselves, shall form a part of the "multitude which no man can number, out of all people, and kindreds, and nations, and tongues, that shall stand at last before the throne, and before the Lamb;" to rouse themselves from their lethargy, and, in the power of the principles of our common faith, with the largeness of heart which Christianity inspires, the regard to humanity and justice which the Royal law demands, and that practical consideration of the true interests of their country which a sound policy dictates, to unite their efforts and their prayers in breaking asunder the yoke, both of cruel bondage and of degrading prejudice—in rolling away the reproach that lies at once on their national and their Christian reputation—and so bringing down upon themselves, upon their churches, and upon their country, the blessing of Him who, in immediate connexion with such deeds of justice, and such "works of charity, and labours of love," and in token of his gracious approval of them when done for his name, has said—"Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily: and thy righteousness shall go before thee; the glory of the Lord shall be thy rearward."

7. That, in such way as may be deemed most expedient and efficient by the Committee of the Congregational Union, these resolutions be transmitted to our brethren of the Congregational churches in the United States of America, with assurances of our most cordial affection, and with earnest prayers that they may be received on their part in the same fraternal spirit in which, we are deeply conscious, they have been dictated on ours, and that, by the divine blessing, they may, in some small measure at least, contribute to the realization of the inexpressibly interesting and momentous objects to which they relate.

G. D. CULLEN,

Chairman.

JOHN WATSON,

Secretary to the Union.

Resolutions on the subject of Negro Slavery in America, passed at the Association of Baptist Churches in the counties of York and Lancaster, held at Sutton in Craven, May 24 and 25, 1836.

Resolved unanimously,

1. That this Association, unfeignedly thankful to Almighty God for the love, the zeal, and the prosperity by which the Baptist churches in America have been so highly distinguished, offers to them its congratulations on this behalf, and fervently prays that their numbers may be multiplied, and their joy and comfort in the Holy Ghost increased.

2. That, nevertheless, it is with inexpressible sorrow we hear that negro slavery not only prevails amongst them, but is also advocated by some of their number; and that, even in the house and worship of God, a marked and invidious distinction is made between members of the same churches, merely on account of colour.

3. That as God has made all nations of "one blood," and is the "Father of the spirits of all flesh," it is our solemn and decided conviction, that the holding of property in the persons of immortal and responsible beings, is diametrically opposed alike to the spirit of Christianity, which is "love;" to its great law, which requires us "to do to others as we would they should do to us;" and to its unvarying tendency, which is to emancipate both body and soul.

4. That in particular, as Christ has redeemed all his people by his blood, has declared their equality as brethren, and prayed that they might be one, as He and his Father are one; we firmly believe, that all needless and degrading distinctions amongst them, especially in the exercises of religion, are as much opposed to his mind, as they are

unseemly in themselves, and injurious in their effects.

5. Therefore, though the subject doubtless involves many difficulties, which claim and engage our sympathies toward our American brethren, we do hereby, in the name of our common Lord and in the spirit of our common faith, call upon them most seriously to consider the subject, and to make every possible exertion to remove these deplorable evils; and thus to shake off an incumbrance which oppresses their energies, and to wipe away a stain which tarnishes their glory.

6. That the moderator forward copies of these resolutions for insertion in the Baptist Magazine, and in the Patriot newspaper, and likewise for publication in New York.

(Signed) J. D. MARSH, Moderator.

* * This Association is the largest in England, and comprises a union of sixty churches, containing nearly 6000 members.

At a Meeting of the Ministers of the Leicestershire Association of Baptist Churches, held in Leicester, June 13, 1836,

It was resolved,

1. That we have heard with extreme regret of the wide prevalency of slavery among the professed followers of the Redeemer in America, and especially those of the Baptist denomination; and that we feel we should be guilty of a breach of duty towards our enslaved brethren, were we to refrain from recording our abhorrence of this sin.

2. That the unnatural antipathy and the invidious distinction which obtain in America towards persons of colour, whether free or enslaved, extending even to the house of God, and occasioning a disgraceful division at the table of our common Lord, indicates a deeply diseased social condition, while the disgusting influence of the system of slavery stands out in the most affecting light in the fact that ministers of the gospel, with the deacons and members of churches of Christ, can not only buy and sell their fellow-men, but dare lift up their voices in defence of this hideous enormity, with its long train of calamities and horrors.

3. That while the churches in America can tolerate the sin of slavery in their midst, we must receive with great suspicion the reports which reach us of their religious revivals, believing, as we do, that their conduct must repel, rather than attract, the Spirit of God, and that it has a fatal tendency to promote infidelity both in the church and in the world.

4. That nothing would afford us sincerer pleasure than to hear that the question of

slavery was occupying the deliberate consideration of all professing Christians in America, whose hands are stained by it, and that the firm but affectionate remonstrances of the British churches were causing them to relax their hold of this inhuman system, while we unfeignedly regret that the deputation from Great Britain sent out by the Baptist Union should have retained silence on this subject; conduct which, in our opinion, no considerations of expediency or feelings of policy could justify.

5. That with these impressions we decline to extend the hand of fellowship to those societies in America calling themselves churches of Christ, while the abomination of slavery is cherished among them; and that we think it a violation of consistency to receive any deputation from these assemblies to the churches of Christ in Great Britain.

6. That these resolutions be printed in the "Patriot" newspaper, and that they be transmitted through the proper medium to the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society in America.

(Signed, at the request of the whole)

J. P. MURSELL, Chairman.

At a Meeting of the ministers and representatives of the Baptist churches of St. Mary's, St. Clement's, and Orford Hill, Norwich, and those of Lynn, Yarmouth, Dereham, Swaffham, Worsted, Aylsham, Neatishead, Ingham, Foulsham, and Cossey, in the county of Norfolk, held at St. Mary's, Norwich, on the 20th of June, 1836; the Rev. W. BROCK in the chair:

Resolved,

1. That we feel ourselves called upon, by circumstances connected with the recent measures of the Baptist Union of London, emphatically to declare our solemn and deliberate conviction that the system of slavery is utterly and irreconcilably at variance with the religion of Christ; and, consequently, that all who profess and call themselves Christians, and yet continue to participate in that awful system, are maintaining a conduct just as opposite to the sacred dictates and the benign influences of the gospel, as is darkness to light.

2. That in this conviction, while on the one hand we remember with gratitude the distinguished part which our denomination has taken in the overthrow of slavery throughout the British dominions, we cannot but feel on the other hand the deepest sorrow and humiliation to learn from the official report of the American churches, that they have not only taken no clear and decided stand, as a religious body, against

the crying evils of American slavery, but that their "southern brethren are generally, both ministers and people, slave-holders." And that this fact is alleged by their General Board, in justification of their declining to listen to the affectionate and faithful remonstrance of our London ministers in December, 1833—because such interference would be regarded by their slave-holding brethren as an impeachment of their Christian character; and we are yet more grieved by their invidious and anti-Christian exclusion of all colored persons from communion with whites at the table of the Lord, and by consequence, from Christian fellowship generally.

3. That so long as such shall continue to be the position deliberately maintained by the American Baptists, in reference to slavery—such their avowed estimate of its relation to Christian character—and such their determination to submit to no remonstrances on the subject—so long shall we feel it to be our corresponding and imperious duty, sorrowfully but firmly, to decline any fraternal union with them, either by sending address or deputation to their body, or by giving to their deputation expected at our impending public meetings, any other reception than that dictated by Christian courtesy and English hospitality, accompanied, however, by affectionate expostulation, and by our fervent prayer that it may speedily please our Heavenly Father to show them "a more excellent way."

(Signed) WILLIAM BROCK, Chairman.

At a Meeting of Baptist churches forming the Suffolk and Norfolk Old Association, assembled at Clare, Suffolk, on the first Tuesday and Wednesday in June, 1836;

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

1. That in common with many of our brethren in various parts of the kingdom, we regard American Slavery as existing in the churches of our denomination with feelings of the deepest abhorrence, and consider the iniquitous traffic of man in his fellow-man, alike incompatible with the eternal principles of righteousness and the benevolent spirit and precepts of our holy religion.

2. That we have blushed for human nature, but more for Christianity, when we have heard that members and pastors of American Baptist Churches hold their fellow-men and fellow-Christians in all the degradation of perpetual bondage, and (if we are rightly informed) refuse to hail them as "brethren beloved," even at the table of the Lord, disdaining to celebrate the Saviour's love with those who, though of sable skin, are equally with themselves the objects of redeeming mercy, and have the same right to share in all the privileges and sympathies of the communion of saints.

3. That as we are unwilling to be "partakers of other men's sins," we cannot desire any Union with the American Baptist churches, unless they will listen to the remonstrances against this crying abomination, which Christian duty must elicit from British Baptists.

THE LOVE OF LIBERTY.

In Georgia, about three years ago, there lived a man, black but noble, a giant in strength, and in form an Apollo Belvidere, about thirty-five years of age, a slave, with a wife and four children, also slaves. The love of liberty burned irrepressibly in his bosom, and he determined to escape, and free his wife and children at all hazard. He had heard of Canada, as a place where the laws made every man free, and protected him in his freedom. But of its situation, or the road thither, or the geography of the intermediate country, he knew nothing. A Quaker who resided near him, being privy to his design, resolved to aid him in its accomplishment; and accordingly carried the slave and his family fifty miles in a wagon by night. In the day time they lay concealed in the woods, and on the second night the same man carried them fifty miles further. At the end of the second night, he told the black man that he could do no more for him, having already endangered both his life and property. He told the slave that he must not travel on the highway, nor attempt to cross a ferry, but, taking him by

the hand, he committed him to God and the north star. This star he was to take as his guide, and it would lead him at length to the land of British freedom. The poor slave bade adieu to his benefactor, and, after skulking in the day, and travelling by night, he at length came to an unexpected obstacle. It was a broad river (the Savannah), of whose existence he had not the least knowledge. But as nothing remained but to cross it, he tied his two young children on his back, and between swimming where it was deep, and wading where it was shallow, his two elder sons swimming by his side, he at length made out to reach the opposite bank; then returning, he brought over his wife in the same manner. In this way he passed undiscovered through the states of South and North Carolina and Virginia, crossed Pennsylvania without even knowing that it was the land of the Quakers; and finally, after six weeks of toil and hardship, he reached Buffalo. Here he placed his wife and children in the custody of a tribe of Indians in the neighbourhood, for the poor man will always be the poor man's

friend, and the oppressed will stand by the oppressed. The man proceeded to town, and, as he was passing through the streets, he attracted the notice of a colored barber, also a man of great bodily power. The barber stepped up to him, put his hand on his shoulder, and said, "I know you are a runaway slave, but never fear, I am your friend." The man confessed he was from Georgia, when the barber said, "Your master inquired about you to-day, in my shop, but do not fear, I have a friend who keeps a livery-stable, and will give us a carriage as soon as night comes, to carry your family beyond the reach of a master."

As the ferry-boat does not run across the Niagara river in the night, by day-break they were at the ferry-house, and rallied the ferryman to carry them to the Canada shore. They hastened to the boat, and just as they were about to let go, the master was seen, on his foaming horse, with pistol in hand,

calling out to the ferryman to stop and set those people ashore, or he would blow his brains out. The stout barber, quick as thought, said to the ferryman, "If you don't put off this instant, I'll be the death of you." The ferryman, thus threatened on both sides, lifted up his hands, and cried, "The Lord have mercy on me! It seems I am to be killed any how; but if I do die, I will die doing right," and cut the rope.

The powerful current of the Niagara swept the boat rapidly into deep water, beyond the reach of tyranny. The workmen at work on the steam-boat Henry Clay, near by, almost involuntarily gave three cheers for liberty. As the boat darted into the deep and rapid stream, the people on the Canada side, who had seen the occurrence, cheered her course, and in a few moments the broad current was passed, and the man with his wife and children were all safe on British soil, protected by British laws!

PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOR.

The river Juniata is crossed between McConnellsburgh and Bedford. It is here a quiet stream meandering along at the foot of mountains 500 feet high, clothed with foliage, and presenting many a bold projection and many a romantic glen. A storm here suddenly burst upon us, and the rain fell in torrents. Our driver was in no hurry to proceed, and the delay afforded an opportunity for witnessing the injustice so often practised upon the blacks. A very respectable-looking, well dressed young woman, had been waiting for the stage, and had paid her fare to go forward by it to the place of her residence. While we stood at the inn door, a gentleman, on examining his chaise, found it was out of repair, and thought it desirable to send forward his lady and two children in the stage, who accordingly got in. On hearing a plaintive entreaty, and a harsh, angry, repulsive reply, my attention was drawn to the colored woman, who was earnest in imploring permission to go; when the following dialogue took place:—"I hope you will let me go, Sir?" "I tell you you can't." "But Sir, you have taken my money!" "Well, you can't go." "You have received my money, Sir, and I think I ought to be permitted to go, as I want very much to get home to-night." "You can't go, I tell you; there is no room for you." "I think there is room, Sir." "There's no room for you, and you shan't go."

Not a voice was heard during this altercation to plead for a poor unfriended girl, respectable and pleasing both in manners and person. I was astonished that the lady's intercession was not employed. Yet, perhaps, it was her prejudice, which the stage-master consulted; or, perhaps, it was that

of the lady's lord, who would not submit to the indignity of having his wife and children fellow-passengers with a colored person. However that may have been, when the driver's preparations convinced me I could witness no more, I took the liberty to interpose, saying in reply to the last decision, "there is no room for you."—"I think we can make room for the young woman; at all events *she shall have my place*." Grieved as I felt at the thought of evils inflicted on this portion of my fellow-creatures, many of whom, too, are fellow-Christians, I could hardly forbear smiling at the dilemma into which the parties felt themselves so suddenly thrown! Stupid as the blacks are said to be, I can only say, the young woman very quickly, but with great propriety, availed herself of the opportunity, and the coach-door being open for my entrance, she got in. I had no intention to be left behind; and, therefore, immediately followed. The gentlemen standing round the coach seemed to be taken by surprise; it was doubtless a singular occurrence; but before their presence of mind returned, the driver was in sufficient self-possession to move off, and leave the discussion to those most concerned. I remarked two things when we had adjusted ourselves in the coach: first, there was room in the stage, as we had not after all the full complement of passengers. Moreover, the lady, who would not have interfered to prevent the young woman from being left behind, though, so far as I could see, she herself was the cause of it, was willing enough to let the good tempered girl have the trouble of nursing all the way, and of trying to please and keep quiet one of the children.—*Baptists in America.*

Slavery in America.

No. II.—AUGUST, 1836.

BRIEF NOTICES OF THE PROGRESS OF THE CAUSE OF ABOLITION IN THE UNITED STATES.—No. II.

ONE of the finest spectacles presented to the eye of observation in modern times is, the voluntary association of individuals for the universal abolition of slavery and the slave trade. In England, France, and Brazil, societies exist for the accomplishment of these noble objects; but in no country in the world has the abolition cause ever assumed so sublime an attitude as in the United States of America at the present time. There it has to contend, unaided and alone, with the spirit of despotism entrenched behind the most cruel and oppressive laws, and backed by public opinion and brute force. The executive government of the country is against it; the president of that mighty republic, the democrat Andrew Jackson himself, being a slaveholder. The power of the legislature is against it. Senators and representatives, with but few exceptions, have determined to crush it, and are only restrained from passing the most tyrannical laws by the fear that the fetters they would forge for others might, by an act of retributive justice, be fastened on themselves. The great bulk of Christian professors are against it. They either maintain a guilty silence on the great iniquity of the land, or openly range themselves on the side of the oppressor, and participate his sin. The power, the wealth, the influence, and the passions of the multitude being against them, the abolitionists of America have to endure the unmitigated storm of popular fury and indignation. In the north they are mobbed, their persons injured, and their property destroyed. In the south they are scourged, mutilated, and put to death without mercy and without law; but, strong in the righteousness of their cause, in the truth of their principles, in the purity of their motives, in the patriotism and Christianity of their object, in the prayerful and persevering spirit in which it is pursued, and, above all, in the promised blessing of God, they look for a triumphant and speedy issue to their labours. Already "the little one has become a thousand, and the small one a strong nation." Their appeals to the judgments, consciences, and hearts of the people are irresistible. With the Bible in one hand, and the declaration of independence in the other, they plead the cause of two millions and a half of their fellow-men, oppressed and down-trodden—robbed and spoiled—tortured and slain, to gratify the lust of gold and the love of domination. And they have pledged themselves before God, and to each other, "whether they live to witness the triumph of justice, liberty, and humanity, or perish untimely as martyrs in this great, benevolent, and holy cause," to cease their labours only with their lives.

In December, 1833, "THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY" was formed at Philadelphia, fifty-two delegates, representing the abolitionists in ten of the free states, being present. Tokens of the divine approbation were not wanting in their assembly. In the holy and arduous work they contemplated, their hearts were knit together as the heart of one man, and unity of counsel and action was the result.

On the 6th of May, the following year, the Society held its first Anniversary in New York. During the five months which intervened between the formation of the Society, and its anniversary, 25,000 copies of a monthly publication (*The American Anti-Slavery Reporter*) were printed, and from 2000 to 3000 of them gratuitously distributed. The Committee reported that "protracted discussions had been held in a great number of places," with decided advantage to the cause of abolition; and that three colleges, viz., *Hudson*, Ohio, the *Oneida Institute*, and *Lane Seminary*, had been won over to its support. The circumstances connected with the adhesion of the latter institution to Anti-Slavery principles, were singularly interesting. The students there were about 100 in number, many of whom were the sons of slave-holders, and one of them was a slave-holder himself. After *eighteen evenings'* discussion, all, with the exception of five or six men from the north, signed the constitution of the Anti-Slavery Society, and have since voluntarily withdrawn from the seminary rather than abandon their principles. Several of these gentlemen are now among the most talented and intrepid advocates of the oppressed slave.

The disinterested attempt of Miss Prudence Crandall to impart education to young females of color of respectable parents, deserves honorable mention. This lady opened a school, for their instruction in the higher branches of female accomplishment, at Canterbury, in Connecticut. The prejudice which existed against the unfortunate class of persons to which they belonged, was called into activity by this circumstance. There were meetings of the select men and inhabitants called, at which the most disgraceful resolutions were passed. Miss Crandall was first entreated to abandon her school, and then threatened with their vengeance if she did not comply with their request. One of her pupils was brought before the magistrates, as an intruder into the town, and sentenced, under an old law, to be fined; and, in default of payment, to receive ten lashes on her bare person! The tradesmen of the town refused to supply her school with necessaries, and the apothecary with medicines, for the use of her pupils. The windows of her house were broken; her friends shamefully assaulted; and every annoyance which a malignant ingenuity could devise was resorted to, to compel her to abandon her laudable intention. After having herself been prosecuted, cast into prison, and harassed in various ways, she was finally obliged to yield to the rancorous hostility of her persecutors, or rather to the wicked prejudice against color in which they indulged.

Among the many powerful and eloquent addresses delivered at the anniversary meeting, perhaps the most thrilling was that of Mr. James A. Thome, of Kentucky. That gentleman had been surrounded from earliest infancy with all the appalling incidents of slavery, and was well qualified to bear testimony to its true character. After having depicted the sufferings of the slaves—"Sufferings inconceivable and innumerable—anguish, from mind degraded—hopelessness, from violated chastity—bitterness, from character, reputation, and honor annihilated—unmingled wretchedness, from the ties of nature rudely broken and destroyed—the acutest bodily torture in every muscle and joint—groans, tears, and blood—lying for ever 'in perils among robbers, in perils in the city, in

perils in the wilderness, in perils among false brethren, in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness"—Mr. Thome proceeded to unfold the moral horrors of the prison house. "But the poor slaves—no ties of sacred home thrown around them—no moral instruction to compensate for the toils of the day—no intercourse, as of man with man. The slaves, thus cut off from all community of feeling with their masters, roam over the village streets, shocking the ear with their vulgar jestings and voluptuous songs, or opening their kitchens to the reception of the neighboring blacks, they pass the evening in gambling, dancing, drinking, and the most obscene conversation, kept up until the night is far spent, then crown the scene with indiscriminate debauchery! Where do these things occur? *In the kitchens of church members and elders.*" "I would not have you fail to understand that this is a *general evil*. Sir, what I now say, I say from a deliberate conviction of its truth; let it be felt in the North, and rolled back upon the South, that *the Slave States are Sodoms, and almost every village family is a brothel.*" "Let me be understood here. This pollution is the offspring of slavery; it springs, not from the *character* of the negro, but from the *condition* of the slave."

The Rev. S. S. JOCELYN, of New Haven, in supporting a resolution "that the American church is guilty of the sin of slavery," made the following remarks. "Among the more than two million slaves in this land, there are computed to be more than five hundred thousand infants, helpless and dependant. These 'poor innocents,' at their birth, are offered to the Moloch of American oppression. Their entire existence is sacrificed on this bloody and obscene altar. Not less than two hundred of these innocents are born daily. Yes! *this day*, two hundred have been added to their number. And not less than three hundred thousand of the slaves of this land are held by evangelical Christians! They are held essentially in the same debasing and degrading bondage—subject to the same system of cruelty and oppression with the rest of their race;—denied the means of education—forbidden to read the Bible—unprotected by the laws—uncultured in their minds—unreformed in their morals.

"Slavery is a system of pollution. It recognizes no law of purity. It knows no marriage for the slave. It annuls the seventh command of the Decalogue. It is a common thing for a female slave, a member of a church, to change husbands, and yet remain in fellowship with the church! This is done because females, as well as males, are sold from one plantation to another, as the interests or necessities of the masters require, and husbands and wives are separated, to see each other's faces no more. And there are not wanting Christians and ministers to justify this breach of the commands of God, on the part of the slaves, on account of the peculiar circumstances in which they are placed. Yet the laws and practices which create these circumstances are permitted to go unproved.

"Again, there are churches whose *funds* for the support of the ministry consist, not in glebe lands, or money at interest, but in *slaves!* the flesh and bones, and bodies and souls of men!

"The American church holds the keys of the great prison of oppression, and refuses to unlock its doors. She does it at the *South*—by her general example. She does it by deifying discussion—and by the influence of her religious press. The Methodist church in its conferences, and the Presbyterian church in its general assembly, have sanctioned slavery. The Methodist church, by altering her salutary discipline—the Presbyterian church,

by blotting out, in 1818, the noble testimony against oppression, which, until then, had stood recorded in its standards. Among the Baptist, Episcopalian, and other churches, no favorable movement has been made. The Friends indeed, a long time since, took a correct stand, but they stood alone. And at the *North*, the church refuses to unlock the prison, by apologizing for the sins of the *South*—by making exceptions and provisos where the law of God has made none—by fostering unholy hatred and prejudice—by denying the power of the gospel to eradicate the hatred she cherishes—by her pulpits—by her presses—by her reviews—by upholding the prejudice that upholds slavery—by adducing scripture in its support—by caressing slave-holders—by denouncing emancipation—by branding even her members as cut-throats, incendiaries, firebrands, and madmen, whenever they utter a note of remonstrance or of warning. Here is a moral power; but wielded as Satan would have it wielded. Hers are the keys; but the doors are closed, and the church refuses to open them. Yes! in the church is lodged the moral power of the nation; but it is a moral power, prostituted in prolonging the system of outrage, pollution, and death."

It was at this Meeting that Dr. S. H. Cox, of New York, repudiated the Colonization Society, and the doctrine of gradual emancipation; and, in an eloquent speech, maintained the duty of immediate and universal abolition. "And," said Dr. C., "I have come to the conviction by calm inquiry and some prayer, that this cause will go, and it is the only cause which will go."

Captain STUART, from England, arrived in time to be present at the Meeting, as the representative of British Abolitionists. This Christian gentleman, so well known in this country for the valuable services he rendered to the cause of negro freedom here, has devoted himself to the same great work in the United States, and has been eminently useful there.

(To be continued.)

ADDRESS OF THE SYNOD OF KENTUCKY, ON SLAVERY.

THE progress of abolition principles in America is strikingly displayed in an address published last year by the Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky. It was drawn up by a Committee specially appointed "to digest and prepare a plan for the moral and religious instruction of the slaves, and for their future emancipation;" and it furnishes a description of American slavery, which completely bears out the representations of abolition writers. Kentucky is a slave state, and the persons who prepared this address consequently possessed ample opportunities of knowing the system which they describe in such dark and fearful colours. They live in the midst of its operations, and daily witness the degradation and misery it engenders. Nor are they open to the suspicion of being disposed to exaggerate the evils which flow from it. No unfriendly disposition to the master can be imputed to them, and they are perfectly free from the fanaticism of the abolitionists. These circumstances render their testimony the more valuable, and will secure for their statements a degree of attention and confidence which might be refused to others. The length of the address prevents our inserting it entire, which we much regret; but our extracts will sufficiently indicate its character and tendency.

Dear Brethren :—The will of Synod has made it our duty to lay before you “a plan for the moral and religious instruction, as well as for the future emancipation, of the slaves” under your care. We feel the responsibility and difficulty of the duty to which the church has called us ; yet the character of those whom we address strongly encourages us to hope that our labor will not be in vain. You profess to be governed by the principles and precepts of a holy religion ; you recognize the fact that you have yourselves “been made free” by the blood of the Son of God ; and you believe that you have been imbued with a portion of the same spirit which was in “Him, who though he was rich, yet for our sakes became poor.” When we point out to such persons their duty, and call upon them to fulfil it, our appeal cannot be altogether fruitless. But we have a still stronger ground of encouragement in our firm conviction, that the cause which we advocate is the cause of God, and that his assistance will make it finally prevail.

We earnestly entreat you, brethren, to receive our communication in the same spirit of kindness in which it is made ; and permit neither prejudice nor interest to close your minds against the reception of truth, or steel your hearts against the convictions of conscience.

We all admit that the system of slavery, which exists among us, is not right. Why, then, do we assist in perpetuating it? Why do we make no serious efforts to terminate it? Is it not because our perception of its sinfulness is very feeble and indistinct, while our perception of the difficulties of instructing and emancipating our slaves is strong and clear? As long as we believe that slavery, as it exists among us, is a *light evil* in the sight of God, so long will we feel inclined to pronounce every plan that can be devised for its termination, inexpedient or impracticable. Before, then, we unfold our plan, we wish to examine the system, and try it by the principles which religion teaches. If it shall not be thus proved to be an abomination in the sight of a just and holy God, we shall not solicit your concurrence in any plan for its abolition. But if, when fairly examined, it shall be seen to be a thing which God abhors, we may surely expect that no trifling amount of trouble or loss will deter you from lending your efforts to its extermination.

Slavery is not the same all the world over ; and to ascertain its character, in any particular state or country, we must examine the constituents and effects of *the kind of slavery which there exists*. The system, as it exists among us, and is constituted by our laws, *consists of three distinct parts—a deprivation of the right of property, a deprivation of personal liberty, and a deprivation of personal security*. In all its parts it is, manifestly, a violation of the laws of God, as revealed by the light of nature as well as the light of revelation.

1st. *A part of our system of slavery consists in depriving human beings of the right to acquire and hold property*. Does it need any proof to show, that God has given to all human beings a right to the proceeds of their own labor? The heathen acknowledge it—every man feels it. The Bible is full of denunciations against those who withhold from others the fruits of their exertions. “Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong ; that useth his neighbour’s service without wages, and giveth him not for his work.”*—Does an act which is wrong, when done once, and towards one individual, become right because it is practised daily and hourly, and towards thousands? Does the Just and Holy One frown the less upon injustice, because it is systematically practised, and is sanctioned by the laws of the land?

* Jeremiah xxii. 13. See also James v. 4. Lev. xix. 13. Deut. xxiv. 14, 15.

2nd. *The deprivation of personal liberty forms another part of our system of slavery.* Not only has the slave no right to his wife and children, he has no right even to himself. His very body, his muscles, his bones, his flesh, are all the property of another. The movements of his limbs are regulated by the will of a master. He may be sold, like a beast of the field; he may be transported in chains, like a felon.

Still further, the deprivation of personal liberty is so complete, that it destroys the rights of conscience. Our system, as established by law, arms the master with power to prevent his slave from worshipping God according to the dictates of his own conscience. The owner of human beings among us may legally restrain them from assembling to hear the instructions of divine truth, or even from ever uniting their hearts and voices in social prayer and praise to Him who created them. God alone is Lord over the conscience. Yet our system, defrauding alike our Creator and our slaves, confers upon men this prerogative of Deity. Argument is unnecessary to show the guilt and madness of such a system. And do we not participate in its criminality, if we uphold it?

3rd. *The deprivation of personal security is the remaining constituent of our system of slavery.*—The time was, in our own as well as in other countries, when even the life of the slave was absolutely in the hands of the master. It is not so now among us. The life of a bondman cannot be taken with impunity. But the law extends its protection no further. Cruelty may be carried to any extent, provided life be spared. Mangling, imprisonment, starvation, every species of torture, may be inflicted upon him, and he has no redress. But, not content with thus laying the body of the slave defenceless at the foot of the master, our system proceeds still further, and strips him, in a great measure, of all protection against the inhumanity of any *other* white man who may choose to maltreat him. The laws prohibit the evidence of a slave against a white man from being received in a court of justice. So that wantonness and cruelty may be exercised by any man with impunity upon these unfortunate people, provided none witness it but those of their own color. In describing such a condition, we may well adopt the language of sacred writ: "Judgment is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off; for truth is fallen in the street, and equity cannot enter. And the Lord saw it, and it displeased him that there was no judgment."

Such is the essential character of our slavery.—Without any crime, on the part of its unfortunate subjects, they are deprived for life, and their posterity after them, of the right to property, of the right to liberty, and of the right to personal security. These odious features are not the excrescences upon the system—they are *the system itself*—they are its essential constituent parts. And can any man believe that such a thing as this is not sinful—that it is not hated by God—and ought not to be abhorred and abolished by man?

But there are certain *effects*, springing naturally and necessarily out of such a system, which must also be considered in forming a proper estimate of its character.

1. Its most striking effect is, *to deprave and degrade its subjects by removing from them the strongest natural checks to human corruption.*

2. *It dooms thousands of human beings to hopeless ignorance.* Throughout our whole land, so far as we can learn, there is but one school in which, during the week, slaves can be taught. The light of three or four Sabbath schools is seen, glimmering through the darkness that covers the black population of a whole state. Here and there a family is found, where humanity and religion impel the

master, mistress, or children, to the laborious task of private instruction. Great honor is due to those engaged in this philanthropic and self-denying course; and their reward shall be received in the day, when even a cup of cold water, given from Christian motives, shall secure a recompence. But, after all, what is the utmost amount of instruction given to slaves? Those who enjoy the most of it, are fed with but the crumbs of knowledge which fall from their master's table—they are clothed with the mere shreds and tatters of learning.

Nor is it to be expected that this state of things will become better, *unless it is determined that slavery shall cease*. The impression is almost universal, that intellectual elevation unfits men for servitude, and renders it impossible to retain them in this condition. This impression is unquestionably correct. The weakness and ignorance of their victims is the only safe foundation on which injustice and oppression can rest. And the effort to keep in bondage men to whom knowledge has imparted power, would be like the insane attempt of the Persian tyrant, to chain the waves of the sea, and whip its boisterous waters into submission. We may as soon expect to fetter the winds, seal up the clouds, or extinguish the fires of the volcano, as to prevent enlightened minds from recovering their natural condition of freedom. Hence in some of our states, laws have been enacted, prohibiting under severe penalties the instruction of the blacks; and even where such laws do not exist, there are formidable numbers who oppose, with deep hostility, every effort to enlighten the mind of the negro. These men are determined that slavery shall be perpetuated; and they know that their universal education must be followed by their universal emancipation. They are then acting wisely according to the wisdom of this world, when they deny education to slaves—they are adopting a measure necessary to secure their determined purpose. It is, however, policy akin to that which once induced the ruffian violators of female chastity, to cut out the tongue, and cut off the hands of their victim, to disable her from uttering or writing their names. She had to be maimed, or they would be brought to justice. It is such policy as the robber exhibits, who silences in death the voices that might accuse him, and buries in the grave the witnesses of his crimes. He is determined to pursue his occupation, and his safety in it requires that he should not indulge in the weakness of keeping a conscience. How horrible must be that system, which, in the opinion of even its strongest advocates, demands as the necessary condition of its existence, that knowledge should be shut out from the minds of those who live under it—that they should be reduced as nearly as possible to the level of brutes or living machines—that the power of their souls should be crushed! Let each one of us ask, Can such a system be aided or even tolerated without deep criminality?

3. *It deprives its subjects, in a great measure, of the privileges of the gospel.* You may be startled at this statement, and feel disposed to exclaim, "Our slaves are always permitted, and even encouraged, to attend upon the ordinances of worship." But a candid and close examination will show the correctness of our charge. The privileges of the gospel, as enjoyed by the white population in this land, consist in *free access to the Scriptures, a regular gospel ministry, and domestic means of grace*. Neither of these is, to any extent worth naming, enjoyed by slaves, as a moment's consideration will satisfactorily show. The law, as it is here, does not prevent *free access to the Scriptures*—but ignorance, the natural result of their condition, does. The Bible is before them, but it is to them a sealed book. "The light shineth in the darkness, but the darkness comprehendeth it not." Like the paralytic, who lay for years by the pool of Bethesda,

the waters of healing are near them, but no kind hand enables them to try their efficacy. Very few enjoy the advantages of a *regular gospel ministry*. They are, it is true, permitted generally, and often encouraged, to attend upon the ministrations specially designed for their masters. But the instructions, communicated on such occasions, are above the level of their capacities. They listen as to prophesyings in an unknown tongue. The preachers of their own colour are still farther from ministering to their spiritual wants—as these impart to them, not of their knowledge, but their ignorance; they heat their animal feelings, but do not kindle the flame of intelligent devotion. When the missionaries of the cross enter a heathen land, their hope of fully christianizing it rests upon the fact, that they can array and bring to bear upon the minds of these children of ignorance and sin, all those varied means which God has appointed for the reformation of man. But while the system of slavery continues among us, these means can never be efficiently and fully employed for the conversion of the degraded sons of Africa. Yet “God hath made them of one blood” with ourselves; hath provided for them the same redemption; hath in his providence cast souls upon our care; and hath clearly intimated to us the doom of him, who “seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him.” If by our example, our silence, or our sloth, we perpetuate a system, which paralyses our hands when we attempt to convey to them the bread of life, and which inevitably consigns the great mass of them to unending perdition, can we be guiltless in the sight of Him who hath made us stewards of his grace?

(To be continued.)

LETTER FROM DR. S. H. COX, ON HOLDING CHRISTIAN COMMUNION WITH SLAVE-HOLDERS OR SLAVE-DEALERS.

THE Americans are taking right ground on the question—the deeply important and practical question, of holding communion with the patrons of slavery. We hope their example will be extensively followed, and that the principles indicated in the following letter will be fairly acted on, both in Britain and in the United States. The time is past for compromise. American Slavery is now known, and condemned as a manifest violation of the divine law. Its character is admitted to be sinful; and its abettors, to be implicated in guilt. Consistency, therefore, requires that British churches should demand the fruits of repentance to be brought forth, before they enter into closer association with the transatlantic communities. To continue our intercourse while they persist in their iniquities, would be to involve ourselves in their guilt, and to harden their hearts against the truth. We strongly recommend the Birmingham resolution, printed in another part of our journal, to the imitation of our churches. Dr. S. L. Cox is advantageously known as a highly respectable presbyterian minister, who some time since visited this country, and on his return to America avowed his adherence to the principles of immediate emancipation. He

has since zealously labored in their behalf, and has been rewarded for his philanthropy by the pro-slavery mob of New York. He is now the president of the Auburn College.

TO DR. JONA A. ALLEN, *Middlebury, Vermont.*

Auburn, N. Y., Feb. 10, 1836.

DEAR SIR,

Yours of the 25th ultimo duly reached me ; but my official duties have hindered this answer for several days ; and at present, I feel that the time adequate to the preparation of a proper answer, is not at my control.

You especially invite my attention to the question, "*What have Christians in the non-slaveholding states to do with slavery? Ought they to hold communion with slave-holders or slave-dealers, even if the cases are modified as much as that of the Rev. Dr. Ely, for example?*"

There is a manifest difference between principles abstractly and absolutely viewed, and their application to particular cases ; these may be qualified and even palliated, just for the same reason that they may be aggravated also, by circumstances. That slavery, the system identically of our own country, is intrinsically and pre-eminently wrong, is at variance with the everlasting righteousness of the moral empire of God, or, as the lawyers say, is *malum in se*, is a proposition of almost self-evident truth. I know that all masters are not equally cruel, covetous, or obdurate ; and that all slaves are not equally abused : nay, that some are treated comparatively well and kindly, and are comparatively happy. But what of this, as it respects the conscience? It is all one system. Every owner of a slave, not even my honored friend above named excepted, upholds the system—lends it the awful sanction of his practice, his influence, and his name ; and is, like a temperate drinker (as it respects another grand moral interest of reform), a mighty obstacle to the ascendancy of correct sentiment and correct action in the community.

I am more struck with the similarities of injury, than with the seeming exceptions of favor, in the privations and degradations of the slaves. The experience of the worse treated, is the liability of the best treated of them all ; and every good master, who dies intestate, leaves to the machinery of the law the disposal of his whole estate—his fellow-creatures included ; and the hammer of the auctioneer is invoked to sell them, singly, or in pairs or lots, to suit purchasers ; as are the phrases of stereotyped commercial usage. But I make these observations by the way, to show that the system is one—that the differences are comparatively inconsiderable—that they vary not the principle or the casuistry of the matter—that the system is utterly and awfully wrong—that no Christian ought to *do evil that good may come* in favor of it ; and that those who care for their souls, and for the approbation of God Almighty, ought not to be driven from the true state and nature of these matters and their involved issues.

As to the *principle*, as related to the moral code of God, I hesitate not a moment to say, that, other things being equal, a slaver of any description ought to be excluded from the communion of the church ; and that, by consequence, the members of the church, individually, ought to withdraw communion from slave-holders and slave-dealers universally. Whatever in the system, or in our support of it, is morally wrong, is no small criminality. It is *piacular*, rather

than venial. It is the moral annihilation and perdition of our fellow-creatures—each one of them a brother of the species—an immortal—a man in body, soul, and spirit. And is it our Judge Eternal, who condescends to wear our common nature, in the person of Jesus Christ, on his throne? and to call every man his brother—such emphatically, if he loves the Saviour? and to be represented on the earth, by the poor and the oppressed? *And the King shall answer, and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto ONE OF THE LEAST OF THESE MY BRETHREN, ye have done it unto me.*

The application of these reasonings, or of this principle of non-communion, is, as I have said, another matter. I shall view it as related to those who are actual slavers in some way, and those who advocate and approve their cause. Of these, inversely—

1. In reference to the speculative slavers, or the pro-slavery advocates, in church and state, especially among us here at the north, I think, on the principle that light graduates guilt, our church discipline must 'probably begin with them. We must not be *partakers of other men's sins*. We must have no fellowship with evil works, but rather reprove them. Now our old maxim is a sound one: THE PARTAKER IS AS BAD AS THE THIEF. I say it is sound: for so says God himself. *When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him*, declares the Holy Ghost, in the fiftieth Psalm; where the day of judgment is described in its principles, and anticipated in its decisions; and where God condemns the eastaways, on the principle that they approved the evils that others did. Thus the apostle charged a promiscuous audience, with the crimes that other hands than theirs perpetrated, against the life of Jesus Christ. *Ye denied the Holy One and the Just, and desired a murderer to be granted unto you; and killed the Prince of Life, whom God hath raised from the dead: whereof we are witnesses.* On the same principle, we have all justified his murderers, appropriated their crime, and crucified HIM ourselves. And what is their plea for doing this among us, in the matter of slavery? Whatever be its form or its ingenuity, it is all, so far as I have yet seen, an excuse framed on the principle of expediency. It is all a short-sighted, time-bounded, truth-denying plea or convenience. I should think then that it may be expedient to sin against God, in certain instances and circumstances! What fools the martyrs were! If their "noble army" could only have gone to school to certain modern casuists, they might have learned how to fear *them that kill the body*. The millennium can never come, nor the gospel spread its genuine influences in our own country, nor missions prosper, till the total system of slavery is abolished. O, what a sin is slavery!

We must do more than not approve, or any other negative. We must wisely, but firmly, testify against it; or calm conscience aright, for excepting, from our testimony against sin, one of the greatest of its systems. We must *let our light shine*, if we have any. We must practically interpret Hebrews xiii. 3, Psalm xli. 1—3, James ii. 4—9, Matthew xxvii. 19—20, Romans i. 14. A very great divine in New England, just after I was mobbed in New York for pitying the poor, through the influence of the *pious* editors of daily papers in that city—they and their satellites, wrote me a letter, the sum of which was, that I had nothing to do with slavery, and had better say nothing about it, as a minister of the gospel, or as a man. I replied, mainly requesting an answer to these two questions: Is the system of slavery, as it exists concretely—not in the abstract—in our country, morally wrong, or morally right, or morally characterized at all? If it is any of these, how can it be proved that a minister of the gospel, a Christian, or a man, in this country, has no moral relation to it? He sent me a

verbal message of thanks for my answer—promised a reply to it ; but eighteen months nearly have passed without its reception.

2. In reference to actual slavers in our country, the application of the non-communion principle to their case, is one of solemn moment. It will have to be discussed ; and not lately have I first considered it. But my paper, I see, is too near its limits, to authorize me in this communication properly to enter on it. This I may employ an early opportunity to do in another paper. Then the magnitude of its relations—the palliating circumstances of our southern brethren in respect to it—the progress of light—the nature of sins of ignorance, and the proper season and manner of action on our part, will come to be considered in the treatment of the question. I am very far from wishing to say or do one rash thing, on this subject of thrilling and never-to-be-slighted interest.

In what remains of this paper, I would dwell on the enormity of the whole system of slavery, both as to its original sin, and as to our innumerable actual transgressions that flow from it. It is founded in man-theft, which is high felony and piracy by the laws of all civilized nations. The ancestors of all our colored brethren were diabolically stolen in Africa, cruelly forced over the ocean and sold, because they were bought in our country ; they and their offspring with them, prospectively, to the last generation of time, were purchased and confirmed to their owners and their heirs for ever ! Now, as to the *equity* of the title. Trace the stream to its source. Can man-theft make equity ?

Apropos—it is just a year, on the 3d instant, since the Rev. Mr. Ludlow, of New York, known and honored for his hearty faithfulness in this and every other good cause, and myself, were taking tea in that city at the house of one of my beloved families (for I was then a pastor), when a villain or two slipped into the hall, and stole our overcoats in the twinkling of an eye. The next day, we entered a description of them at the police-office, in some dubious hopes of their restoration. About three days after I called alone, and had the pleasure to identify his, in their capacious wardrobe. It was strangely found. One of the thieves actually brought the other, with Mr. Ludlow's coat on him, to the office, complaining, virtually, as the event showed, that his co-thief was not *equitable* in dividing the booty ; when they were both taken into custody, and the coat restored to its owner. But where, said I, is my new Boston wrapper, for which I paid a round sum the previous week ? These were the thieves that took it also, and at the same time. Very like, Sir, said the officers, you will never find it. They probably sold it to some equally *honest* purchaser, who encourages the trade ; and there are many such in the city. But if sold from one to another a thousand times, and we find it at last, we will take it at all hazards, add restore it to you ; for stealing, you know, can never make a title ; and buying stolen goods, is no lawful possession.

Well, thought I, let my wrapper go—and gone it is, to this day. But let me see—*stealing can never make a title* to a surtout or wrapper. What then if I had been in it myself—if I had been stolen and sold successively to a thousand purchasers, would not my present owner have an equitable title at last ? Why, no—if a man is as important as a wrapper.

SAMUEL H. COX.

R E V I E W S.

The Baptists in America. A Narrative of the Deputation from the Baptist Union in England, to the United States and Canada.
By the Rev. Drs. Cox and Hoby—London. Ward & Co. Second Edition.

A Letter to the Rev. Drs. Cox and Hoby, containing Strictures on their Conduct relative to the question of Slavery in America.
By the Rev. THOMAS WILLCOCKS—London. W. Ball. Second Edition.

It is not our purpose to enter into the literary merits of these works, or to notice the denominational intelligence, extensive and valuable as it is, which the former of them contains. The character of our publication restricts us to one feature of the case which the Drs. Cox and Hoby have presented to the public; and in the remarks which we shall offer, it will be our aim to combine respect to them as individuals, with a fearless exposure of what we deem culpable in their public conduct.

In their volume they have unfolded the measures which they adopted, and the policy they pursued, on the all-absorbing question of Negro Slavery; and it would afford us unfeigned delight to be able to record our satisfaction with the defence they have attempted: but truth compels us to declare that, after giving to their statements the most attentive and impartial consideration; after having maturely weighed them, both in the details which they furnish, and in the general principles which they involve; and after having heard from themselves various supplementary explanations, we not only remain unsatisfied of the propriety of the course which they adopted, but strongly impressed with the conviction, that they have unintentionally inflicted on the cause of Abolition in America an injury, which it will require the utmost vigilance and the most strenuous efforts of the Baptist denomination to remedy. It is well known, that at the time of their going out, large expectations were entertained of the benefits which would accrue from their mission to the sacred cause of Negro Emancipation. Nor were these expectations unreasonable. The character of the

delegates, the Anti-Slavery reputation and zeal of the body they represented, and the avowed and published objects of their mission, all concurred to awaken the hope that their visit to the United States would rejoice the hearts and strengthen the hands of our American brethren, who are engaged, with all the zeal and self-devotion of an apostle, in the noblest moral enterprise of the age.

"We send our deputation," said the Committee of the Baptist Union, in their circular of October 1, 1834, "to promote most zealously, and to the utmost of their ability, in the spirit of love, of discretion, and of fidelity, but still most zealously to promote, the SACRED CAUSE OF NEGRO EMANCIPATION."

This language secured the co-operation and pecuniary aid of many churches which did not sympathize with the committee in the more general and indefinite objects which the delegation contemplated. It was regarded as a distinct and solemn pledge, that the brethren who went out would openly and fearlessly, in every mode which was compatible with Christian integrity, enunciate the principles of the body they represented, and publicly invoke, to the Abolition cause, all the moral strength and influence of the churches they visited. It was expected that they would take their stand, without fear or compromise, on the same ground as had been occupied at home; that, leaving the political bearings of the question to Americans, they would, in consonance with their Christian profession, and in virtue of their representative character, have denounced Slavery as a flagrant violation of human right, an impious assumption of the prerogative of God, and a monstrous and soul-destructive transgression of the laws of Christ. It was expected that their voice would proclaim in the sanctuaries of devotion, in the assemblies of Christian philanthropists, and at Richmond itself, the inconsistencies and sins involved in the Slave system which was supported by so many of the American churches. The denomination at home, comparatively indif-

ferent to the other objects of their mission, looked with intense solicitude to this; and many a prayer was presented to the Father of the spirits of all flesh, that their affectionate and earnest appeals, circulating by a thousand channels through the length and breadth of America, might arouse the torpid conscience of its Christian population, and impel them to the instantaneous abandonment of their cherished and defended sin. Modern times have not presented a situation more replete with the elements of moral greatness than that to which the Providence of God invited the English delegates. By sacrificing temporary popularity, by resisting the temporizing suggestions of learned professors and ministers of religion, by closing their ear against the poisoned representations of the advocates and extenuators of Slavery, by refusing the hospitalities which were offered, and the flattery which was diffused, on the implied condition of a public silence on the great sin and abomination of the American church; they might have rendered unequalled service to the cause of human happiness and virtue, and have enshrined themselves in the affection of the enlightened in every clime. On their return to their native land, they would have been welcomed with more than a brother's friendship; and the voice of thanksgiving and praise would have ascended on their account, from a thousand sanctuaries, to the Father of mercies, whom they had so faithfully served. Would that a Paul, a Luther, or a Knibb, had occupied their place! We should then have heard appeals such as passion forms in its sublimest mood, which, coming forth from the depths of the human heart, would have exercised an omnipotent sway over the religious sensibilities of their hearers.

But the opportunity was lost; lost, never to be regained. A century may pass before the representatives of a religious body have it again in their power to confer such benefits on their fellow-men, or to do such honor to the God whom they serve. We regret, deeply regret, the decision to which the delegates came. We regret it on their own account, on account of the body from which they proceeded, and especially on account of the injury it inflicted on the cause of humanity and religion. It was applauded by the patrons of

slavery, but mourned over by the friends of freedom. Both parties expected them to take a public part in the discussion of the Slave question; but when their decision was announced, the pro-slavery press of America sounded their praise, while the sincere abolitionists of that country regretted that they had landed on its shores.* This fact, so notorious and indisputable, is sufficient to determine the direction in which their moral influence was exerted. They did not so design it. We are persuaded that they were Abolitionists at heart, but they had not the moral courage and determination of character which fitted them for such new and trying circumstances. When such a man as William Lloyd Garrison, whom to know is to admire and love, can condemn their conduct in the unmeasured terms which are employed in his letter inserted in the Patriot of July 6, we cannot but deplore the mischievous consequences of their pusillanimous and temporizing policy.

In proportion to the expectations which their mission had awakened, are the disappointment and regret now pervading the Baptist denomination of this

* On the 11th of May, the day preceding the Anti-Slavery Meeting at New York, Dr. Cox was coupled with Mr. Thompson in the New York Courier and Inquirer; and the two were represented as "mad missionaries" and "hiring foreigners." "We shall not," says the editor, referring to the meeting of the following day, "attend; but if we did, it would be to aid in *tarring and feathering* the impudent foreign pretenders, who have thus dared to present themselves among us, to sow the seeds of discord and disunion. Let them beware of the experiment they have attempted." Such was the language employed on the 11th; on the following day, Dr. Cox's celebrated note was written and published; and on the 13th, the same pro-slavery paper, which had so fiercely assailed him only two days before, changed its tone, and employed the following eulogistic language. "It appears that Mr. Cox was invited to make himself ridiculous on the occasion, and in imitation of the madman Thompson, meddle with that which does not concern him; but that he possesses too much good sense to expose himself to the just indignation of our citizens by such a line of conduct. The letter in reply to the committee who requested his attendance, is alike honorable to his head and his heart. He has acted, indeed, like a *philanthropist*, who, while weeping over the evils of slavery, is conscious of the impracticability of immediate emancipation, and the political bearings of the question; and he has proved himself a man of sense, and a gentleman unwilling to outrage the feelings of our people by officiously intermeddling with a subject, with which, as a *stranger* and a *foreigner*, he has no earthly business to interfere. We hope his example may have a beneficial effect upon others similarly situated." Praise from such a quarter, and under such circumstances, is the severest reproof that could have been administered.

country. A deep and settled feeling of dissatisfaction prevails, which the defence attempted in the present publication will be far from removing.

"I do not believe," says Mr. Willcocks, in his dignified, gentlemanly, and Christian-like letter, "there is one of them [the Baptist churches of England] so recreant to its Anti-Slavery principles, as to have virtually said, 'We hereby appoint our brethren, Dr. Cox and the Rev. J. Hoby, our delegates to the Richmond triennial convention, for the purpose of forming a fraternal alliance with the Baptist American churches; and if they find that the subject of Negro Emancipation is too delicate and tender to be touched at its meetings, we hereby further commission them to merge it with all Christian charity, and not fail to incorporate us with brethren whom we so highly esteem and love.' If there be one such church among us, let it be named; let it become the object of holy indignation; let it henceforth and for ever be silent on the topic of slavery, and, in order to enjoy the pleasures of sympathy, remove to some American slave-state."—p. 5.

"To crown all," adds Mr. Willcocks, "you would have effected the utter confusion of all order, the ruin of all Christian feeling, the destruction of all love and fellowship! And could you do this? Will the warmest partizan, if he be a Christian, say you ought to have done this? Excuse me, dear brethren, if I tell you that this language is ill-judged, and can produce no impression in your favour, except on the most weak and unreflecting minds. I have read it again and again, with mingled pity and surprise. What is the true state of the case? Here is an American Christian assembly, that you beheld bedewed with tears of sacred sensibility, glowing with fervent sympathy and love, full of harmony and union, and the manifest presence of the Spirit of God, and even reminding you of the spirit displayed in primitive times—and yet, if you had ventured to remind them that, for the sin of slavery, the Great Head of the church has 'somewhat against them,' there would have immediately ensued the confusion of all order, the ruin of all Christian feeling, and the destruction of all love and fellowship! Is it possible, that you mean to tell us this? And yet what other construction can be put upon your words? O tell me not, then, of the revivals, and missionary labours, and triennial conventions of America, bringing down heaven upon earth; I shall never believe that our transatlantic churches are in a sound spiritual state, until they will permit us calmly to reason, and firmly to remonstrate with them, on the sin of slavery. Had I, like

you, been surrounded with the affectionate greetings, and melting tears, and wrestling prayers of the meeting at Richmond, I should have felt as did the prophet Samuel, when he said to Saul, 'But what meaneth this bleating of the sheep in mine ears, and the lowing of the oxen which I hear?' And, I verily believe, that, even though some Virginian myrmidon of the laws had stood at the door of the convention, I must have delivered my soul, by bearing a testimony against slave-holding iniquity, within its walls. Had you thus acted, you might have been apprehended by the Virginian magistrates, as 'foreign incendiaries,' and have been consigned to wicked incarceration. But in that case, you would have had the honour of suffering 'for righteousness's sake,' and would have commanded the sympathy and respect of every friend to unbending consistency, both in America and at home."—p. 12.

We must be permitted to adduce one more extract from this admirable and well-timed pamphlet, when we shall pass on to other matters involved in "*The Baptists in America.*" Referring to the political bearings of the Anti-Slavery cause, Mr. W. says—

"You tell us, that the slave question is doubtless one of humanity and religion, but that it is also one of internal policy, relating to the civil administration of the country. I have too much respect for you, dear brethren, to believe that you are disciples of the doctrine of political expediency; but I feel myself justified in asserting that you appear to reason as such. You seem almost to lose sight of the *morale* of the Anti-Slavery question in your semi-American zeal for the perpetuity of the union. In your terror at consequences, you forget the paramount claims of principle. If the internal policy of any nation be at utter variance with the dictates of humanity, and the principles of immutable justice, it is the solemn duty of Christians to endeavour, by all legitimate means, and through the proper channels, to effect a change in such policy. Aye, and if they neglect to do this, they prove traitors even to the cause of genuine patriotism. So long as America holds more than two millions of Africa's children in cruel vassalage, she not only gives the lie to her zeal for liberty, and invites the laughter and scorn of European despots, but provokes the wrath of the God of heaven. How, then, can any American Christian, who loves his country, and would preserve her intact from divine vengeance, dare refuse to co-operate in measures for giving freedom to the slave? If the present Anti-slavery Society of America be too rash in its spirit, and too rapid

in its movements, let not the American Baptists sit by idle and silent, but form an Anti-Slavery society of their own, and invoke to its aid all their fellow-citizens who wish to combine wisdom with firmness, and prudence with zeal. But I have yet to be convinced, that the abolitionists of America deserve the character which, for argument's sake, I have imputed to them. The following is the tribute borne to their character and conduct by Dr. Channing, who is not himself an abolitionist in the American sense of the word. 'As a party, they are singularly free from political and religious sectarianism, and have been distinguished by the absence of management, calculation, and worldly wisdom. That they have ever proposed or desired insurrection among the slaves, there is no reason to believe. All their principles repel the supposition. It is a remarkable fact that, though the south and the north have been leagued to crush them, though they have been watched by a million of eyes, and though prejudice has been prepared to detect the slightest sign of corrupt communication with the slaves, yet this crime has not been fastened on a single member of this body.'—'They shall not be stripped of the rights of man, of rights guaranteed by the laws and constitution, without one voice, at least, being raised in their defence.' You yourselves, moreover, tell us that, among the Anti-Slavery Committee, there are of the best character, and of the most exalted piety. And yet this is the party with which the great majority of the American Baptists refuse to ally themselves; and, I regret to add, they are sanctioned in their conduct by your timid and injurious example. You inform us, indeed, that such was the violence of party feelings, that it would have been impossible to have taken any part in these proceedings, without being understood as concurring in measures, respecting which you entertained serious doubts, or else of specifying what you could not wholly approve; and, at the same time, you must have assumed an attitude of hostility against other measures, which you did not wholly disapprove. It is due, then, to your brethren, whom you represented in America, to state what were the measures respecting which you entertained serious doubts. But, 'My colleague and I,' you further instruct us, 'were not pledged, by any expressed or understood agreement, to attend the anniversary of the Anti-Slavery Society.' True; but, if you were sent to America, 'zealously to promote the sacred cause of negro emancipation,' how could you better accomplish this object of your mission, than by publicly identifying yourselves with the abolitionists of that country, though their zeal may not, in every minutia, be regulated with absolute wisdom and discretion?'—p. 16.

We regret to perceive that the necessity for further remarks is not superseded by the second edition of the "Baptists in America." We did hope that, on a reconsideration of the case, the delegates would have seen the propriety of erasing those passages in which, by implication or direct statement, they impeach the public conduct of our distinguished and noble-hearted countryman, Mr. George Thompson. He does not need any vindication from us. The memorials of his zeal are widely scattered over the American continent, and will proclaim to the latest generation, in language which all can understand, the prodigious extent and value of the service he has rendered to oppressed and dying humanity. Borne down for a season by the vilest and most loathsome outcry which ever assailed the character of a public man, his reputation will be the honor of his age, and the cherished remembrance of future times.* It has been our happiness to know something of him in private life, and to witness with ever-increasing admiration his rare assemblage of intellectual and moral endowments, all consecrated, by an enlightened piety, to the best interests of his fellow-men. That such a man should be defamed and insulted by slaveholders, and their abettors, was but natural; but that Englishmen, that Christians, that Christian ministers, and, above all, that English Baptist delegates, should join the hue and cry against him, is deeply to be deplored

* We cannot find terms sufficiently strong to express our contempt for the meanness and malevolence of an insinuation contained in a letter of Mr. Breckinridge, inserted in the Patriot of June 15. "You have sent four messengers," he says, "from your churches to ours; and I am now the fourth messenger from our churches to you. Is the voice of one rash and passionate man to overbear the voice of the remaining eight, when of the whole nine he alone handled money in the transaction?" Does this acrimonious and bitter opponent of Mr. Thompson know—and, if he does not, we inform him of the fact, that, in proceeding on his American Mission, Mr. T. made a pecuniary sacrifice, which no one of the other delegates referred to had an opportunity of making. Had he remained in this country, there was pledged to him an income double that which he was to receive in the United States; but, nobly superior to all such considerations, he declared, "I am consecrated to the cause of abolition. The Providence of God calls me to this embassy; and, regardless of the silver and the gold, I will obey his summons, and be found at my post." The reputation of such a man is not to be injured by one whose visit to Britain has done more to lower the character of the ministry of America in public estimation, than any other event which has transpired.

by every friend of humanity and religion. Instead of strengthening their case, it will prejudice it in the public judgment, and will expose them to misconstructions from which their principles and attachments are alike abhorrent. But Mr. Thompson, it is alleged, was intemperate and rash, fierce in invective, and slanderous in his reports of American Christians. We have had pretty extensive opportunities of examining his speeches, both in America and Britain; we have listened to the report of enemies and friends; and do not hesitate to say, as the result of our investigation, that his crime has been his *faithfulness*. He has called things by their proper name; has denounced sin as sin; and reprobated, in strong, nervous, and impassioned language, the monstrous inconsistency and wickedness of republican Christians in enslaving the bodies and ruining the souls of their fellow-men. Had he been content with general denunciations of slavery, and embedded these "in soft and silken eulogiums," he might have been as popular as any of his countrymen who have visited the western world. But he had a higher vocation. "The Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon him;" and, faithful to the claims of duty, he cried aloud and spared not, but, lifting up his voice like a trumpet, he showed the people their transgression, and the house of Jacob their sins.

But his measures are represented as having been injurious to the Anti-Slavery cause. "Exasperating measures," it is observed, "and the language of invective, have checked and thrown back the cause. . . . An Anti-Slavery agent from this country might have pursued a course which would have been wise, and must have been beneficial; which would have tended to unite the good of all classes and parties; which would have been honorable to Britain, and felicitous for America. That course has unhappily not been pursued—not, I mean, by the Anti-Slavery agent." This passage displays a profound ignorance of human nature, and of the unexampled rapidity with which the abolition cause has been progressing in America. When was an extensive revolution effected in the social arrangements and commercial enterprises of a people, without an arduous and fearful struggle? When

did despotism, in its foulest form, relinquish its prey; or cupidity abandon its gain; or the petty tyrants of our world, whether professing Christians or avowed infidels, become just and merciful, without a deadly effort to crush the power by which they were ultimately subdued? History replies to these queries with sufficient distinctness to expose the fallacy of the passage we have adduced. It was not to be expected that the slave owners or slavery advocates of America, whether found in the church or in the world, should permit the progress of abolition principles, without raising an outcry sufficient to alarm the timid, and to deter the half-hearted from embarking in the service of humanity.

But we have other and less exceptionable witnesses to the character and results of Mr. Thompson's labors in America, than the Baptist delegates. There are circumstances which may fairly be supposed to have prejudiced their judgment; and we therefore appeal from their verdict to the decision of men at whose invitation he proceeded on his mission, and with whom he daily labored in the great cause of human freedom and virtue. The interest which they have at stake, the apostolic zeal with which they have devoted their character, their property, and lives to this department of Christian benevolence and duty, gives an authority to their statement which no other party can claim. We have now before us several of the reports which they have recently issued, from three or four of which we shall adduce the high and honorable testimony which they bear to our aspersed countryman. At the Annual Meeting of the *Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society*, held on the 20th of last January, the following resolution, moved by the Rev. Orange Scott, was adopted unanimously:—

"That we mark with grateful reverence the example set before us by the philanthropists of Britain respecting the abolition of Slavery, and report to them, with hearts deeply penetrated, the faithfulness and success of the noble spirits they have sent to our aid; and that in view of this entire awakened country, roused by George Thompson to a knowledge of its cherished enmity to emancipation, we owe to him, and those who granted his aid to our request, to be more and more faithful to the cause to which he sacrificed all his personal interests at the hazard of his life."

The report of the society, after mentioning the names of Birney, Stuart, Tappan, Jay, and others, alludes to Mr. Thompson in the following eloquent passage.

"But we may not thus excuse ourselves from making special mention of the services of one, now, we trust, breathing again the air of his native land, whence he came to this country, at the invitation of this society, to raise his voice of strength, and exert his various and surpassing talents, for the relief of suffering men. Mr. Thompson has been the chief speaker among many who have spoken well, and has labored more abundantly than any of those who have abounded most in this work of the Lord. He has labored with us and for us in a manner and a measure that have given an impulse to the Anti-Slavery cause, which will be felt to the last. It flows, and will keep flowing on. He poured himself out like water; and the wonder of all who heard him was, that his stream of facts, and arguments, and illustrations, and appeals seemed to be never diminished, but still gushed forth, as from a fountain ever full and overflowing. He performed, while here, an amount of service, as we have elsewhere said, the narrative of which would be regarded by many as an incredible tale. The remembrance of his energy, zeal, and alacrity in the work he was sent to do, will never be effaced; and we hope it will incite us to constantly increasing diligence. He came to us as highly commended as he could be, by the Christian philanthropists of England. And he returns to them with our united testimony that he has amply redeemed the pledges they gave us. He has shown himself to be thoroughly furnished for his office. And he has in no case compromised the Christian character of his mission. We cannot find words to express our shame for the ineffable meanness of our opposers, who, unable to answer his arguments or to withstand his appeals, were eager to drive the highly-gifted philanthropist from the country, by insult, calumny, and violent assaults upon his person. They have effected their purpose. But we weep rather for them, than for him."

Similar testimony is borne by the *American Anti-Slavery Society*, in its report adopted on the 10th of last May.

"They would not forget to mention," say the committee in this invaluable document, "the services of those noble-hearted and devoted men, Charles Stuart and George Thompson. The former has, during the year, given his time, and more than his time, gratuitously to this cause. The latter, while he remained with us, labored most abundantly, and gained multitudes of converts. With the utmost fearlessness and good temper, he met a storm of mean and

malignant opposition, such as few have encountered since the days of the apostles, and such as nothing but the truth and faithfulness of an apostle could have called forth. He counted not his life dear to him in the cause of the oppressed, nor would any peril have induced him to re-cross the Atlantic, but for the urgent advice of his friends, who were unwilling that a martyr for American liberty should be any other than an American citizen. They would fain spare their country the shame of staining her soil with the blood of the representative of her best friends in the old world—a man whom the noblest philanthropists of Europe delight to honor. If his traducers among us have any portion of self-respect remaining, they will be taught a lesson by the enthusiasm with which George Thompson has been received by all whose favor is worth having in his native land. They will have reason to repent the violence which interrupted Mr. Thompson's labors here, for his voice will be more terrible to oppressors than ever, when it comes across the Atlantic, backed by the loud acclaim of that noble army of philanthropists who knocked the fetters from eight hundred thousand British slaves."

Another extract, and we have done. The Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Convention, at its meeting in February last, unanimously adopted the following resolution.

"That this convention waits with the utmost solicitude to hear of the safe arrival of our beloved brother, George Thompson, in England; that it regards his labors in this country as having been signally instrumental in advancing the holy cause of universal emancipation among us; that emotions of love and gratitude fill our hearts towards him; that we thank and bless our British abolition brethren for having sent him to our shore, and that we blush for our country to think that he has been compelled, by public ferociousness, to return to those who sent him hither.

Here we must close; and we hope that no further occasion will present itself for referring to the matters discussed in this article. We have drawn it up with no other feeling than that of personal respect and good will towards the parties whose conduct we have censured. Believing them to have erred, and in erring, to have injured one of the best causes which ever engaged the sympathies of the human heart, we have not shrunk from declaring our conviction. Had we done so, we should have been unworthy of the confidence of our readers, and have lost that self-respect which, next to the commendation of our God, we most earnestly desire.

RESOLUTIONS OF ASSOCIATED BODIES ON THE SUBJECT OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

SEVERAL religious bodies throughout the country have already expressed, in unequivocal terms, their condemnation of the spirit and practice of the churches of America in reference to slavery. We rejoice in the promptitude and decision with which they have acted, and especially admire the unmeasured terms in which they reprobate the inconsistency of slave-holding Christians. Their resolutions will find their way across the Atlantic, and while they encourage the self-denying and unequalled labors of the noble army of philanthropists who are struggling to free America from the reproach and crime of slavery, we earnestly pray that they may be the means of awakening the conscience of the Christian people of that empire, to the fearful guilt which they contract by allowing so inhuman and diabolical a system to be perpetuated in their midst. We regret to perceive that the movements which have taken place in England are almost entirely confined to the Baptist body. The Congregationalists of Scotland have expressed their sentiments nobly, in a series of resolutions which we printed in our last number. But what are the Congregationalists of England doing? As yet, we have met with but three resolutions passed by the members of that body, two of which we subjoin. Something, we believe, was done at the Annual Meeting of the Congregational Union, in May last; but it has not, so far as our information extends, yet transpired. We respectfully urge upon our brethren to be prompt in their measures, and thus to remove any shadow of suspicion which may attach to their policy. This is especially important in their case, as the correspondence they have opened with America, and the culpable silence which their delegates maintained on this subject during their visit to the United States, expose them to a suspicion which we should deeply grieve to think well founded.

We are also looking with intense anxiety to the steps which the Wesleyan Conference may take at its approaching meeting in Birmingham. Connected more intimately with the religionists of America than any other body in this country, it is capable of speaking with an authority which must command respect, and which may be the means, under the blessing of God, of rescuing their brethren from the infatuation and wickedness of continuing their support to a system, alike hostile to the honour of their religious profession, and the welfare of their native land. May a spirit of wisdom and of faithfulness be in their midst, that the favour of God may be upon them, and the blessings of them who are ready to perish may attend their future history!

Since writing the above, we have received a copy of the *Birmingham Philanthropist*, containing an account of the Anniversary of the Baptist Missionary Society in that town. At the public meeting for the transaction of business, a resolution was proposed strongly condemnatory of American Slavery, which we recommend to the serious attention of our readers, and to the imitation of the churches of this country. The decided and uncompromising language which it adopts is worthy of the Christian men by whom it was employed, and will become, we trust, a model on which the resolutions of other bodies will be formed. The tone of the Meeting, which was impassioned to a high degree, was still more excited by an amendment proposed by Dr. Hoby, who attempted the hopeless task of extenuating the guilt of slave-holding in America. We deeply regret, on his account, that he should have been so unadvised as to have attempted an opposition. On other grounds we rejoice in it, as it afforded an opportunity for a further display of the strong and inflexible determination of the

men of Birmingham to act out the righteous principles of the Christian system. His amendment, which was seconded by courtesy, was supported only by six or eight hands, in an assembly of about five thousand, so overwhelming, and all but unanimous, was the feeling which prevailed.

At the Half-yearly Meeting of the Bristol City and County Association, held at Clevedon, on the 25th of May, the following resolution was passed.

"That the Members of this Association most fervently hope, that any Delegates sent from the Congregational Union of England and Wales, to visit the churches of America, will be men of uncompromising integrity, who will be ever willing to co-operate with the immediate abolitionists of that country, and who will, with Christian boldness, lift up their voice, and tell the American churches and ministers of their awful crimes, in denying their colored brethren and sisters the privilege of sitting down with them at the same Lord's table; in slave-holding and slave-dealing; and in selling and buying, as slaves, members of the church of Christ! That it is the firm conviction of this Association that the British churches should refuse to receive any Delegates from the churches of America, who refuse to lift up their voice against slavery; and that they should send an expostulation, to those churches, which should roll like thunder over the waves of the Atlantic, and echo from forest to forest, until every slave is free."

At the Annual Meeting of the British Association of Baptist Churches, held at Melksham, Wilts, May 26th, 1836, the Rev. J. RUSSELL in the Chair, it was unanimously resolved,

1. That, deeply sympathizing with British Christians of every denomination, in the attention which they feel compelled to give to the present state of slavery, and the condition of the free people of color in America, we deem it our duty, as an Association, to record our sentiments and feelings upon that subject.

2. That the joy inspired by the abolition of slavery in our own colonies, after so arduous a struggle, and at so costly a sacrifice, was greatly increased by the hope that the example would be followed at no distant period, by all other states and communities implicated in the guilt and disgrace of negro slavery.

3. That while we rejoice that this expectation has been, to a certain extent, realized with regard to France and other European States, we have heard with astonishment, mingled with poignant grief, of the violent opposition made to the efforts of the friends of humanity in America to abolish slavery, and thus to deliver their country from so foul a stigma upon their otherwise liberal

institutions,—a conduct utterly irreconcilable with the fundamental principles of their boasted freedom, furnishing just ground for the taunts and triumphs of the apologists of established abuses, and exhibiting a gross and manifest outrage on all the noble and distinguishing principles of that religion to which, in the persons of her pilgrim fathers, America owes all that is great and good in her character and prospects.

4. That our surprise and regret are greatly increased by the fact, that Christian churches and Christian ministers in that country, should have so far disregarded their obligations as the followers of Him who came "to give liberty to the captives," as to have participated in the sin of slave-holding, and to have fostered rather than discountenanced the cruel feelings of their countrymen at large, not only against the slaves, but the free people of color,—thus upholding laws and prejudices which tend to keep that deeply injured class in a state of heathen darkness, and of civil degradation and wretchedness scarcely exceeded by the worst forms of that slavery from which they have been nominally emancipated.

5. That inasmuch as numbers of the slaves, of the free colored people, and of the slave-holders, are members of churches belonging to the Baptist denomination, we deem it a duty peculiarly incumbent on us as a Baptist Association, to address to our brethren in America our solemn protest against so flagrant a violation of Christian principles, as is involved in either holding fellow-men, and especially fellow-Christians, as property, or treating all who happen to be of a darker skin as a degraded caste.

6. That, prompted by these views, and with the kindest feelings towards the American people, and with unfeigned admiration of much that is exemplary in the American character, we earnestly entreat the followers of the Redeemer, and especially those of our denomination in that country, to give to this state of things their earliest and dispassionate attention; and, instead of attempting to extenuate its guilt, or to justify its continuance, for one day beyond the time needed for the proper legislative enactments on the subject, they will at once unite their counsels, their efforts, and their prayers, for its entire extinction.

7. That these resolutions be advertised in the "Patriot" Newspaper, and that the Rev. John Jackson, of Bath, be requested to insure their early transmission to the Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, accompanied with a request that they

will take the most effectual means of making them known to their countrymen.

J. RUSSELL, Chairman.

At a Meeting of the Ministers and Messengers of the Kent and Sussex Association of Particular Baptist churches, held at Eynsford, Kent, June 3, 1836, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

1. That deeply sympathizing with British Christians of every denomination in the attention they feel compelled to give to the present state of slavery, and the condition of the free people of color in America, we deem it our duty to avow our sentiments and feelings on that subject.

2. That, having learned with surprise and regret that slavery in its worst forms is encouraged by many of the churches of America, and that ministers, deacons, and private members of Baptist churches in that country equally participate in this flagrant abomination; and fearing that the intercourse recently opened between those churches and our denomination in this country, may be considered as implying our sanction of such inhuman and unholy conduct, we feel it our duty to record our public protest against the iniquity, as utterly at variance with every principle of Christianity.

3. That while we feel deeply interested in the prosperity of the American churches, and would gladly co-operate in any measures calculated to promote a more intimate union with them on scriptural principles, we feel it to be our painful duty strongly to discountenance all participation in the hateful crimes of slave-dealing and slave-holding, and in the practice of those churches which make a difference of color or condition a term of exclusion from the Lord's table.

4. That we feel it to be our duty to afford every encouragement to the friends of the abolition of slavery in America, and fervently to pray that those churches which have partaken in the abomination may be convinced of their sin, and be purified from offences so opposed to the spirit and injunction of Him who came to give liberty to the captives.

5. That these resolutions be published in the circular letter, and advertised in the Patriot newspaper.

WILLIAM SAVORY, Moderator.

At a Meeting of the Midland Association of Ministers and Messengers of Baptist Churches, held at Coleford, Gloucestershire,

It was unanimously resolved,

1. That the churches of this Association cannot forget the great pleasure which they have often derived from the contemplation of those zealous exertions in the cause of religion which have been manifested by Christians of various denominations in America.

2. That this delightful feeling has been greatly marred by a knowledge of the fact, that slavery is encouraged in America, and that many of the ministers, deacons, and private members of Baptist churches, participate equally with others in this hateful abomination.

3. That as we are convinced slavery is inimical to the dictates of humanity, and utterly opposed to that word which Christians receive as the rule of their faith and practice, while, as it existed in the British colonies, and as it now exists in the United States, it has assumed characters of frightful enormity, we should deprecate such union between the British and American Baptist churches, as might seem to imply an approbation, or even toleration, of so monstrous an evil, but would rather solemnly warn, and earnestly entreat, our American brethren faithfully to exert themselves to put from them the accursed thing.

4. That to whatever causes the existence and continuance of slavery in America are to be attributed, the churches of this Association will fervently pray that the consciences of professing Christians in that country may be aroused to such a sense of its flagrant character, as that it may be at once, and for ever, abandoned.

THOMAS WATERS, Secretary.

At the Anniversary of the Staffordshire Association of the Congregational Pastors and Churches, held at the Tabernacle, Hanley, Staffordshire, June 28th and 29th; when two resolutions were passed, the latter of which we subjoin.

That, having been appealed to by their Committee for an expression of views on American slavery, this Association cannot hesitate to declare their conviction of the natural equality of man, and the injustice, and impolicy, and tendency to deprave, inherent and essential to the state of slavery.—that in America, as a land of liberty, whose sons are of British blood, and whose fervour of religious feeling has been a praise in the earth, this stain is of peculiar offensiveness—that we cannot but fear for the Christianity of the American churches, if, after their attention has been called to the crime, they retain it among them, or by any modification or finesse evade its total abandonment—and that we therefore hereby express our hope that those churches will speedily renounce the abomination, and employ all their influence with the States' Legislatures to effect its entire overthrow.

R. W. NEWLAND, Secretary.

At the Anniversary Meeting of the Birmingham Auxiliary Baptist Missionary Society, held in the Town Hall, Birmingham, on Tuesday, the 19th of July, 1836, the following resolution was adopted:

That this meeting rejoice to hear that in the United States of America there is a rapidly increasing number of ministers and members of churches "solemnly pledged to the cause of the oppressed"—who declare that the system of slavery is a "palpable violation of the law of God. To these philanthropists this meeting offer their fraternal and affectionate congratulations; at the same time they deplore that "Slave-

holding" is still the most heinous and prominent sin with which America is chargeable, and that a large portion of her churches is implicated in its guilt. Under the conviction that slavery is utterly opposed to Christianity, this meeting would record their deliberate judgment, that no person who holds property in man should be allowed to remain a member of a Christian church.

MAKING THE WILL OF A SLAVE-HOLDER.

I was once called to write the will for a Presbyterian, who was greatly debilitated. His wife was a Methodist; and also one of his sons, about 18 years of age. The boy was conscientiously opposed to slavery, root and branch. We proceeded to divide the lands and all the other property very amicably. At length we came to the slaves. I paused, and told them I could write no more; he insisted, and dictated the manner in which these were to be apportioned. Among other items, he directed that this boy, who declared that he never would hold a slave, should have a man and woman, and her children for his lot; but should the testator die before the son arrived at twenty-one years of age, and the latter would not take possession of them, with a direct proviso against their emancipation; then the executors were ordered to sell those slaves upon the best terms, and divide the proceeds among the younger children. I assured them, that I neither could nor would write any such clause in a will for any person; that, separate from all the questions respecting the character of slavery, it involved the very utmost injustice; and that it was an unnatural usurpation over the rights of his son's conscience. A severe and protracted disputation ensued. I reminded the parents of their Christian profession, and of their son's hopeful piety. I endeavoured to impress upon the sick man his emaciated condition; recalled to his memory his early associations, when slavery appeared to him in no other light than as a fiend incarnate; and finally attempted to transfer his solemn attention to the account-

ability of man at the tribunal of Christ. He was in a measure docile, and, not being able to evade or shake off the application of the truth, he remarked, "By our marriage-contract, my wife was to have the sole management of the slaves; in fact, they are her property, independent of me; and she will do as she likes with them." This brought the lady and myself into direct collision; and during the whole evening, it was as impossible to keep her in any thing like rationality, as it would have been to quell the ocean in a storm. She called my truth "all cant, all lies, all nonsense," &c. When her fury was so far vented, that her husband and I could put in a few words; I expressed my regret at the occurrence. "Mrs. —, if there be any truth in God's word, your profession of religion, if not directly hypocritical, must be vain. If there be any equity in the divine administration, the hope of the slave-holder, like the hope of a hypocrite, is of no more consistency than that of the spider's web, and must perish. I can comfort Mr. — with no cheering gospel promise, for I know not one adapted to his case; and if there be any correct mode of comprehending the Scripture of truth, and he should speedily depart indulging a hope of admission to glory, I fear that he will die with a lie in his right hand; for, as your own homely preacher proclaims, 'you think to go up to heaven with a gang of slaves on your back. No, no! I tell you that they will sink you down to the dungeon of damnation.'" Thus ended the making of a will for a female man-stealer!—*Bourne's Picture of Slavery.*

SLAVERY, A MURDEROUS SYSTEM.

Sir,

Having observed, in the report of the discussion between Mr. George Thompson and the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, at Glasgow, that Mr. Breckinridge questions the accuracy of a statement made by me in reference to the burning alive of a slave in the United States, I beg to hand you the following particulars of that melancholy event.

It happened where I was then living, at Greenville, in the county of the same name, in South Carolina. This slave was a preacher in the state of Georgia. His master told him, if he continued his preaching to his fellow-slaves, he would for the next offence give him 500 lashes. George (for that was the name of the slave) disregarded his master's threat, and continued to preach to them. Upon his master having

discovered the fact, George, being dreadfully alarmed lest the threatened punishment should be carried into effect, fled across the Savannah River, and took shelter in the barn of a Mr. Garrison, about seven miles from Greenville. There he was discovered by Mr. G., who shot at him with a rifle, on his attempting to run away, without effect. He was then pursued by Mr. G., who endeavoured to knock him down with the butt end of the piece, unsuccessfully. George wrenched the rifle out of his hands, and struck his pursuer with it. By this time several persons were collected, George was secured, and put into Greenville jail. The facts having transpired, through the newspapers, his master came to Greenville to claim him as his property, but consented, upon being required to do so, to receive 550 dollars as his value, with which he returned home. Shortly after this, George was burnt alive within one mile of the court-house at Greenville, in the presence of an immense assemblage of slaves, which had been gathered together to witness the horrid spectacle from a district of twenty miles in extent.

The manner in which George was burnt was as follows: a pen of about fifteen feet square was built of pine wood, in the centre of which was a tree, the upper part of which had been sawn off. To this tree George was chained; the chain having been passed round his neck, arms, and legs, to make him secure. The pen was then filled with shavings and pine wood up to his neck. A considerable quantity of tar and turpentine was then poured over his head. The preparations having been completed, the four corners of the pen were fired, and the miserable man perished in the flames. When I was last there, which was about two years before I left America for England, not only was the stump of the tree to which the slave George had been fastened, to be seen, but some of his burnt bones. These facts I am ready to attest in the most solemn manner, if required; and, though I have been a slave, I trust my evidence will be received on matters of fact which have come within the range of my own observation, equally with any statement Mr. B. may offer to the British public.

Mr. Breckinridge adverts to the protection which the law is supposed to extend to the slave's life. I beg to say, that whatever the law may be, no such protection is in reality enjoyed by the slave. In illustration of this, I will mention one or two facts. Near the village of Marianna, in Jackson county, West Florida, resided two planters of the names of Sloane and Mauldin. I believe they were relations, certainly they were on the most intimate terms with each other. A negro belonging to Sloane was

discovered early one morning on the premises of Mauldin; the fact is, he had run away from his master. Mauldin saw him and called on him to stop, which he refused to do. He then deliberately aimed his rifle at him, and shot him dead. This having been seen by a white man, Mr. Mauldin was tried, and the result was that he substituted another negro in the place of the one he had shot. That negro I have often conversed with.

Take another case: in the village of Liberty Hill (!) a Mr. Bell (a member of a Methodist church) was in the habit of hiring slaves for the cultivation of cotton. Among those so hired was a negro of the name of Henry, the property of a Miss Massie, who had been a favorite slave of her late father. This young man, failing to accomplish the task given him to do on a Saturday, and fearing the punishment of a hundred lashes, with which he had been threatened, finished it on Sunday morning. His labour on the Sabbath was discovered by his master, and on the following day his master, as he said, "for violating the Sabbath," tied him to a tree, and flogged him with his own hand, at intervals from eight in the morning until five o'clock in the evening. About six o'clock two white men, in the employ of Mr. Bell, pitying his wretched condition, untied him, and assisted him home on a horse, a distance of about a mile. He was at this time in a state of great suffering and exhaustion. A short time after they had placed him in the kitchen they heard him groan heavily; Bell also heard him, and said, "I will go out and see what is the matter with the nigger." He went, and found him breathing his last, the victim of his brutal treatment.

This case was brought to trial; my then master, Mr. Gooch, was on the jury. The evidence of the two white men was taken, and Bell was adjudged to pay the value of the slave he had destroyed. This he was unable to do, and a Mr. Connighim, a wealthy and extensive planter in the neighbourhood, paid it for him, on condition of Bell's becoming a driver on one of his estates. To this arrangement he consented, and the matter was settled.

These are the only two instances which I recollect of planters being tried for the murder of slaves. I could report a multitude of cases in which slaves have been murdered, and no account has been taken of them; and on some future day I shall trouble you again on the subject.

I am, Sir,
Yours respectfully,
MOSES ROPER.

London, June 27, 1836.

THE INFLUENCE OF SLAVERY IN LOWERING THE TONE OF MORAL SENTIMENT.

A prominent feature in the system of slavery is the bluntness of moral feelings, and the dimness of moral perception inevitably induced by it. Even conscientious men and women often find it difficult, and apparently impossible, to apply to this subject the most universal rules of justice, and the common maxims of humanity. This great evil originates in a fixed habit of not regarding the colored race as brethren and sisters of the human family. Our knowledge of the Africans is coeval with the practice of enslaving them; and slavery, so long as it exists, *must* be supported by laws and customs that recognise human beings as articles of property; the unavoidable consequence is, that slaves are universally considered by their owners as mere animals, or pieces of machinery.

The moral influence produced by such a state of things, was strikingly exemplified in a conversation that took place at the house of a Boston lady, intimately known to the writer. Miss G., of South Carolina, had been invited to meet several ladies at the house referred to. The conversation turned on that never-failing topic, the difficulty of procuring good domestics. One of the guests remarked, "You are not troubled with these kind of difficulties at the South, Miss G.; but I should think you would find it very unpleasant to be surrounded by so many negroes." "Not at all unpleasant," replied the southern lady, "I have always been accustomed to the blacks, and I really like them. When I was an infant I was nursed by a black woman; and I have always had them to attend upon me. I assure you that many of them are very far from being disagreeable in their personal appearance. I had a young slave, who was, without exception, the prettiest creature I ever saw. She used to tend table for us, and almost always attracted the attention of visitors. A gentle-

man, who was often at our house, became dreadfully in love with her, and tried to make her accept handsome presents. One day she came to me, and asked me to speak to that gentleman, and forbid his saying any thing more to her; for he troubled her very much, and she could not get rid of him, though she constantly refused to listen to him. I promised to speak to the gentleman about it, and did so, telling him that his attentions were very unpleasant to my slave, and begged him to refrain from offering them in future. For a few weeks he desisted; but at the end of that time, he came to me and said, 'Miss G., I must have that girl! I cannot live without her!' He offered me a very high price. *I pitied the poor fellow, and so I sold her to him.*"

Miss G. was an unmarried woman, between twenty and thirty years old. She would consider herself insulted, if any one doubted her modesty and sense of propriety. Yet she told this story with perfect *unconsciousness* that there was any thing disgusting or shocking, or even wrong, in one woman's trafficking away another, under such circumstances! That such a thing could be done in a free and Christian community, is sufficiently strange; but that it could be *told of* without the least *shame*, or the slightest consciousness that it *ought* to excite shame, is still more extraordinary.

What a comment is this upon the *moral sense* of slave-holding communities!

Miss G. would have been horror-struck at the idea of selling into prostitution even the poorest and most degraded white woman; but the colored race she had been always taught to consider as mere animals.

Oh! who can count the unnumbered crimes, the manifold impurities, inevitably growing out of a system, which constantly seeks to protect itself, by regarding immortal beings as the brutes that perish!—*From Mrs. Child's Anecdotes of American Slavery.*

THEOLOGICAL DEXTERITY.

It is remarkable that those who are desirous of making an impression that there is something in the Bible which sanctions slavery, always take care to divorce the Old Testament from the New, and quote the testimony of the one, to the rejection of the other. Sometimes they betray a consciousness that the *Old Testament* commands immediate emancipation, and then they are wonderfully tenacious of the paramount authority of the *New*. They significantly inquire why our Saviour and his apostles did not enjoin emancipation; and plainly imply that the 58th chapter of Isaiah, and other portions of the prophetic and pre-

ceptive Jewish writings, are documents of a remote antiquity, with which we have no manner of concern.

At other times we are cited to the *Old Testament* patriarchs, and to the institutions of the Hebrews, for the evidence that the Bible sanctions slavery; and *then* the *New Testament*, with its sublime morality, is anxiously kept out of sight, under the erroneous impression, no doubt, that the law of loving our neighbour as ourselves was unknown to Moses and to Abraham. There seems to be a latent consciousness that those venerable men could not have sanctioned slaveholding, if they had lived under the

light of such a precept. They forget that our Saviour declared this principle to be the substance of the "law and the prophets." And so they cling to the favorite notion that Abraham and Moses sanctioned slaveholding—whatever Jesus Christ may have taught inconsistent with such a practice—insomuch that one might be tempted to think them laboring to establish Judaism in opposition to Christianity. And thus they keep up a never-ceasing traverse from the Old Testament to the New, and from the New to the Old, taking care to settle permanently on neither, always reading the one in forgetfulness of the other, and using the two testaments as though they were antipodes, that might never be tolerated under the same roof, at the same time.—If you cite them to James [v. 4.] as containing an answer to their demand why the prophets did not condemn the fraudulent use of unrequited labor, they cry out, that Old Testament saints were slaveholders. And if you would point out their mistake by showing them

what Old Testament prophets thought of slaveholding saints, behold! in the twinkling of an eye, they are off again to the New Testament, adroitly lighting down upon Paul's letter to Philemon; yet taking care to skim over the page so gently as to be ready for the fiftieth leap, when it shall be noticed that the fugitive was no longer to be received as a servant, but a brother beloved.

In my younger days I have been amused at the dexterity with which a real "man of war's man" would evade duty on ship-board, in a dark night, by "coming up one hatchway and going down another." The sailor's call it "working Tom Cox's traverse," and great adroitness is often manifested in these evasive evolutions.—But never in my life have I seen so much deceptive skillfulness and agility of motion as is exhibited in open day light, by ministers and Christians who would gladly avoid close action with the enemy of all righteousness, in these stormy times.—From "*Human Rights*."

BURNING OF REV. J. HOWARD HINTON'S HISTORY OF AMERICA.

A costly and valuable history of the United States, lately written by Mr. Hinton, a Baptist minister in England, has been republished in this country. The work is large, and is issued in separate numbers. The sixteenth number, as we are informed (for we have not examined the work), has in it something referring to the subject of slavery among us, and to our treatment of the aborigines.

Whilst an agent of the publishers was engaged, a few weeks ago (under the supervision of a gentleman, either one of the publishers, or directly interested in the publication), in distributing the numbers of the work to subscribers in New Orleans, a paragraph of a violent character, taken from a Charleston paper, branding the work as "incendiary," and the agents as "incendiaries," &c., was republished in the New Orleans papers. The excitement became

so great, that the agent thought it prudent to leave the city as early as he could. The other gentleman referred to remained, to see what would be the result. A letter from him to the agent, received a few days since at Cincinnati—written in much haste—states, that the books, to a large amount, had been seized and burnt, and that he had engaged his passage to Baltimore.

The above is from the account of this transaction, as given by the agent to a friend of ours in Cincinnati, a few days ago.

Since this, we have been informed, that the New Orleans conflagration had been preceded by similar ones in Charleston, and, perhaps, in Savannah. Very truly did Mr. R. J. Breckinridge, of Baltimore, say not long since in a public speech, that *the literature of the world is against the slaveholder*.—From the *Philanthropist*.

POETRY.

TO GEORGE THOMPSON.—BY MRS. CHILD.

I've heard thee when thy powerful words
Were like the cataract's roar—
Or like the ocean's mighty waves
Resounding on the shore.

But even in reproof of sin,
Love brooded over all—
As the mild rainbow's heavenly arch
Rests on the waterfall.

I've heard thee in the hour of prayer,
When dangers were around:
Thy voice was like the royal harp,
That breath'd a charmed sound.

The evil spirit felt its power,
And, howling, turned away;
And some, perchance, "who came to scoff,
Remain'd with thee to pray."

I've seen thee, too, in playful mood,
When words of magic spell
Dropp'd from thy lips like fairy gems,
That sparkled as they fell.

Still great and good in every change!
Magnificent and mild!
As if a seraph's godlike power
Dwelt in a little child.

Slavery in America.

No. III.—SEPTEMBER, 1836.

GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCHES IN AMERICA

THE Annual Meetings of this religious body were held at Cincinnati in May last, and we regret to find that the discussions which took place, and the resolutions which were adopted, clearly establish the determination of the Episcopal Methodists to retain the sin of slavery in their midst. The subject of emancipation was introduced by an address from the English Conference, but the American brethren were ill-disposed to give to it the reception which it claimed. It will now be for the Wesleyans of this country to say whether they will continue in association with men so thoroughly resolved to abide by their wickedness. If they act worthy of themselves, they will instantly convey a solemn, dignified, and imploring remonstrance to the transatlantic Methodists, and suspend all further intercourse with them till they have retraced their steps, and humbled themselves before the Lord. Any measure short of this will compromise their own honor, and involve them deeply in the guilt which is so fearfully accumulating on the American church. They have already addressed them, in terms (as we understand) sufficiently mild and courteous. Their address has been treated as an indignity, and their advice scorned. They must now, therefore, sustain their own consistency, and assert the sacredness of Christian morals, by repudiating the connexion in which they stand, that the slumbering conscience of their brethren may be aroused, and their souls be saved from the displeasure of the Lord.

The following account of the meetings of the Conference, compiled from the *Zion's Herald*, *Watchman*, and the *New York Evangelist*, is taken from the *Emancipator* of the 26th of May. We insert it at length, in order to furnish our readers with a more accurate and graphic view of the state of feeling in this body than could otherwise be obtained.

Monday, May 2.

Conference met in the Wesleyan chapel, at nine o'clock A. M.—all the bishops, four in number, present. Bishop Roberts, being the oldest in office, took the chair, and called the meeting to order. Thomas L. Douglas, of the Tennessee Conference, was appointed Secretary, and T. B. Sargeant, of the Baltimore

Conference, Assistant-Secretary. 133 delegates were present. Most of the day was spent in the appointment of committees.

Messrs. Lord and Case were introduced to the Conference—the former, a delegate from the Wesleyan Conference in England, and President of the Canada Conference. He addressed Conference in a very happy and interesting manner, and alluded to the “delicate subject,” because he said it was introduced by the Wesleyan Conference, into their address, which he now presented.

Tuesday, May 3.

Most of the session of this day was taken up in the appointment and instruction of committees. The address from the Wesleyan Conference in England, was read. It speaks out nobly in behalf of the slave, yet with all kindness; instead of calling the abolitionists in our church “fanatics,” it expresses high satisfaction that some of us are awake to this subject. It takes the position that *slavery is contrary to the principles of the gospel*. The reading of this document produced considerable sensation in the Conference. Orange Scott moved that it be printed in the Christian Advocate and Journal, and the Western Christian Advocate. After some discussion, it was voted to lay the motion to print on the table.

On the motion of Dr. Bangs, the address was referred to a committee of three, with instructions to report as early as possible, that the answer might reach Dr. Fisk before he returns to this country. The committee appointed were Dr. Bangs, Dr. Capers, and T. A. Morris.

S. G. Rozzel, of the Baltimore Conference, moved the appointment of a committee on slavery, to whom all memorials, petitions, and papers relating to the subject of slavery, should be referred; laid resolution on the table.

Wednesday, May 4.

This morning, soon after opening the Conference, Dr. Bangs presented a report in answer to the address from the Wesleyan Conference. He stated to the Conference that it had been hastily prepared, and of this it bore but too evident marks. In replying to what our English brethren say of slavery, the doctor spoke in strong terms against abolition, said nothing against slavery, and indirectly complained of our transatlantic brethren for their interference. He spoke of the “trouble abolitionism” had made, but said nothing of the trouble of slavery.

Considerable discussion took place on the motion to adopt the report. T. Spuer, of the Troy Conference, rose and said, “The report speaks of the ‘trouble abolitionism’ has made us; I think *slavery* should be inserted instead of abolitionism.” This seemed to be a new thought to some; they seemed to have forgotten that *slavery* was any trouble at all. Several amendments were proposed; but finally, on motion, the report was recommitted.

Thursday, May 5.

The principal business of interest before the Conference to-day was the report of the committee appointed to prepare an address in answer to the one from the British Conference. The one presented to-day was in many respects another thing from that presented yesterday. It was greatly improved, both in language and sentiment, and afforded internal evidence of having originated from another and smoother pen. The coarse and hackneyed thrust at *abolitionism* was transformed into a delicate touch of *negro slavery*. This gave general satisfaction. Exceptions were, however, taken to other passages.

Rev. Mr. Rozzell, of Baltimore, thought the passage relating to the powers of the general government over the subject of slavery in the slave states, was not sufficiently explicit, and would be liable to misconstruction by the British public.

Dr. Bangs, chairman of the committee, thought the language sufficiently explicit, and not capable of more than one construction.

Mr. Soren, of Philadelphia, objected to a passage relating to a determination of the Methodist ministers to do all in their power to improve the temporal and spiritual condition of the slaves. He thought the enemies of Methodism, and especially those opposed to the improvement of the colored people, would take advantage of the language, and construe it into an intention to avail themselves of every opportunity and means of bringing about the emancipation of the slaves, and would thus exclude Methodist ministers from the privilege of preaching to the slaves. He moved to have the passage struck out. Mr. Rozzell and others concurred.

Dr. Capers, of South Carolina, a member of the committee, stated that when he first met the committee, he was of the opinion that the best course would be not to notice the subject of slavery at all in the address. But, after consultation with the members of the committee, he had changed his opinion. The people of the South were expecting some action on the subject by the General Conference. And they feared it might be such an action as would entirely close up the door of usefulness among the slaves, which was now opened. He was satisfied that the address, with the clause objected against, so far from doing them any injury, would do them much good.

Rev. Mr. Winans, of Mississippi, agreed with Dr. Capers.—He spoke very much in the same strain and manner, made no disrespectful allusions to the abolitionists, but acknowledged that the people of the North had a right to their opinions, and to express them as well as the people of the South, though it was certain that the people of the South understood the subject best.

Rev. Mr. Kennon, of Alabama, also concurred with Dr. Capers, and spoke in the same kind and respectful manner.

Rev. Mr. Early, of Virginia, spoke on the subject, but his tone and sentiment were very different from those who had just preceded him. "Let," said he, "the Methodist members, from Maine to Georgia, come out and denounce abolitionists. It was of little use for Southern Methodists to denounce them, for that is expected, and it is replied, the South are slave-holders; but let the church altogether denounce them, and it will place the Methodist church on an eminence that it never had before, while other churches are becoming divided by this excitement."

Rev. Mr. Bascom, of Kentucky, offered a substitute for the passage proposed to be struck out, the purport of which was, "that we shall, as we have ever done, do all in our power to promote the best interests of the slaves;" which was adopted.

Rev. Mr. Paine, of Tennessee, then moved to strike out all of that part of the address which related to slavery. Remarks were made by several in favor of Mr. Paine's motion. Bishop Soule made some remarks, which satisfied Mr. Paine that it would be best to retain the part which he wished expunged, and the motion was withdrawn.

The report of the committee was then adopted by a considerable majority. The report embraces the address, and provides that Dr. Fisk be intrusted with the business of presenting it to the next British Conference, which will meet in

July. It is a remarkable fact, that the delegates from the extreme South treat the subject with much greater mildness and candor than those from the more northern parts. I must think that, aside from their slavery, they are men of estimable character.

Mr. Scott, of New England, moved that his resolution to print the address from the British Conference, which was laid on the table yesterday, be taken up. Dr. Bangs seconded the motion, with the amendment, that it be referred to a select committee. Mr. Scott had no objection to the amendment, but, perceiving that a debate was likely to ensue, and that the time of the session had nearly expired, he withdrew the motion.

Friday, May 6.

This day was observed as a day of fasting and prayer. At the close of the religious exercises of the day, Dr. Bangs presented a petition for the appointment of a bishop for Liberia. Mr. Scott moved that his resolution to print the address from the British Conference be called up, which was negatived by fifty-nine to fifty-seven.

Monday, May 9.

To-day the memorial from the east, signed by 151 travelling, and forty-nine local preachers, 200 in all, praying for the restoration to our discipline of our *original* rules on slavery, was presented by Rev. J. A. Merrill. It was read before the General Conference. Mr. Merrill moved that it be referred to a select committee, with instructions to report thereon as soon as practicable. Some discussion took place. Dr. Bangs said he was in great hopes that the question of slavery would be kept out of General Conference; but seeing it could not, he was in favor of referring it to a select committee. Mr. Winans, from Mississippi, said he was in favor of its reference, not, however, on account of the *respectability* of the memorialists, or their numbers, for he could have obtained *five hundred thousand* names against the prayer of the memorialists being granted. The memorial was referred to a select committee of seven. So the subject of slavery is fairly before the Conference, and there is evidently not a little *perplexity*, by the opponents, that the abolitionists have come upon them entrenched behind the former rule of discipline, with Wesley, Clarke, Coke, and the Wesleyan Conference for a staff to lean upon.

Wednesday, May 11.

A memorial was presented by Orange Scott, signed by 2,284 members of the church, praying for the restoration of the original rules on slavery, to the discipline. Referred to the select committee.

S. G. Rozzell, of Baltimore, presented a resolution that the committee appointed to prepare an address to the people, be instructed to insert a paragraph on abolitionism, in order to put it down. O. Scott moved to amend the resolution by adding "and slavery."

Dr. Bangs, chairman of that committee, objected to the resolution altogether; the resolution and amendment were laid on the table.

Thursday, May 12.

It was decided to continue the Book Concern at New York, after which S. G. Rozzell, of the Baltimore Conference, presented a preamble and resolutions, which went to disapprove, in the first place, the reported conduct of two members of the Conference, in attending an abolition meeting in the city, on Tuesday

evening; and, in the second place, to "condemn modern abolitionism." With regard to the two brethren who attended the abolition meeting in the city, it was said, "their conduct was unjustifiable." The facts in the case were these: The Anti-Slavery Society had a regular meeting on Tuesday evening, at which some of the leading members of that Society had invited some of the abolitionists, members of the General Conference, to be present, and two of them were there and made some remarks—one spoke about thirty minutes, and the other about fifteen. This gave occasion to the resolution brought in as above. Some said one thing, and some another. Some called the conduct of these brethren "an utter contempt and outrage of this General Conference." Abolitionism was called "an unhallowed flame." W. A. Smith, of Va., wished that these two members, who were "guilty of this damning iniquity," might be reproved by the resolution passing, and their names be inserted in it. R. Payne spoke of these two members coming to General Conference, and then "turn about and get up abolition meetings."

In the afternoon the subject was resumed. The anti-abolitionists occupied the whole of the morning session. N. Levings thought, if he was one of the brethren who had, through indiscretion, detained this body so long, he should feel bad. He spoke of the "recklessness of those brethren who have lectured," and of their "agitating this *miserable* subject." After much, *very much*, had been said upon that side, and after making several attempts in vain to put in a word, Mr. Storrs rose and inquired, "Have any of these brethren, who have so long been inveighing against the course of the brethren who are supposed to have lectured, been to those brethren to ask any explanation in regard to what they did do or say?" He remarked that he was acquainted with those brethren, and knew their course. They had "got up no abolition meeting in this city, as had been said; they had been invited to attend a *regular* meeting of the Cincinnati Anti-Slavery Society; and, having no appointment to preach that evening, and being on no committee that met, they went as invited—and when there they made some remarks."

The afternoon session was almost at a close, when Rev. O. Scott took the floor. For the first fifteen minutes he was perpetually interrupted, till it was finally decided that he should have liberty to proceed without interruption. "Modern abolition" was what one part of the resolution before the Conference proposed to condemn. Mr. Scott claimed the right to explain what it was. He showed most clearly that it was the same doctrine held by Wesley, Clarke, Watson, the Wesleyan Conference, and formerly by the M. E. Church. When he had spoken about half an hour, the Conference adjourned.

Friday, May 13.

Conference being opened, Bishop Soule made some remarks previous to Mr. Scott's resuming his subject. He thought the best service we could render the country, was to make no interference. Dr. Bangs said, "I understand by abolitionism, the *measures* that are pursued by certain men on this subject." This remark was made by way of objection to Mr. Scott's going into the whole subject of slavery and abolition. Several attempts were made to prevent his taking so wide a view of the subject, but Bishop Soule, who was in the chair, decided that he was in order, and must not be interrupted. Mr. Scott then took an extended and enlightened view of the whole subject, and closed by assuring the Conference, that they might as well think of putting their foot upon the burning mountain to stop its rumbling, turn back the waters of the Niagara, or take

up the waters of the Mississippi in the hollow of their hand, as to think of stopping the progress of abolition.

T. Crowder, of Virginia, followed Mr. Scott. He had difficulties—difficulties from the Scriptures. The Israelites, he said, might buy the Canaanites, and hold them in bondage for ever. Abraham was a pious man, and he bought and possessed slaves. The Centurion who came to Christ to heal his servant, had slaves, and Christ said of him, he had not found so great faith, no, not in Israel. Paul did not meddle with slavery. He had difficulties growing out of the history of this subject: no crusade against slavery in the West Indies was carried on in the days of Wesley—abolitionists waged war with that “*noble, benevolent, and heaven-born institution*,” the Colonization Society.

He had difficulties from our *political* relations. It was *emphatically* a political subject. We have nothing to do with political subjects. The American Anti-Slavery Society rushes directly upon our political compact. He had slaves left him by his wife—he offered to send them to Liberia—but one of them would go—he had two now—they wept when he came away to Conference—his cook was dressed as finely as any of our females—thousands of slaves were on their way to glory—slavery had no tendency to produce amalgamation—the Scriptures did not expressly condemn slavery, as it does fornication, drunkenness, &c.—modern abolitionism tends directly to blast the hopes of other countries, of the practicability of self-government—is against the compact—divides the Union—represents us as robbers, murderers, thieves, &c., &c.

William Winans, of Mississippi, said Jehovah has permitted, has regulated slavery—and therefore it might be right—if circumstances might exist that render slavery morally right, then the inquiry is, do those circumstances exist in respect to slavery in the United States? He avowed that they did. He spoke *eloquently* of murdered wives, of murdered children—burning houses, burning towns and villages, if the slaves were free. Abolitionists were incapable of taking enlarged and just views on the subject—by their movements, the slaves in some places were shut out from the Bible—at whose door lies that fault? Bishop Asbury was decidedly anti-abolition previous to his death. They (the South) would not receive at the hands of the British Methodists and northern brethren, any help in this matter—let us alone, that is all the North can do. He believed there should be Christians, and Christian ministers, known to be slave-holders extensively throughout the South; and slave-holding bishops too—for the same reason that you should exclude us from any *office* in the church, you should exclude us *from the church*—abolition movements are evil, and only evil, always, and everywhere, and at all times.

S. G. Rozzell, of Baltimore, spoke of the petitions presented from New England, praying for the restoration of the original rule on slavery to our discipline. They were signed, he said, mostly by women and girls, and “I don’t know but by children at their mothers’ breasts,”—he had heard of people putting a pen in the hands of a corpse to sign a will, &c.: he could have obtained more than 500,000.

Mr. Scott replied, that it was stated on presenting them, that one was signed by 200 ministers of our church, and that the remaining 2284 were members of our church.

Before the vote was put on the resolution, Mr. Scott proposed to amend it by inserting before “condemn modern abolitionism,” the words, “although we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery, yet we,” &c. This gave rise to a renewed debate, and was hotly opposed, on the ground that it was un-

necessary, being in the discipline; that it would paralyze the condemnation, and give great offence to the South.

William A. Smith hotly opposed it. He said it (abolitionism) was a political and moral heresy—alike against our discipline and the Scriptures—it was carried into our class meetings and quarterly conferences, (this was denied): he affirmed he knew it so. Speaking of Mr. Scott, he said, "I would to God he were in heaven, where he is prepared to go."

Mr. J. F. Adams called to order; and inquired whether it was admissible for a member of this Conference to wish another member dead!

No retraction was made, nor did the Conference require it.

The amendment was rejected, and the resolution passed: ayes 120, noes 14.

FOURTEEN would not bow down to the image of slavery in *any shape*.

AMERICAN LIBERTY.

We learn from the *Emancipator* of April 23rd, that the Rev. Mr. Storrs has been arrested as a common brawler, for lecturing, by request, in Pittsfield, New Hampshire, on the subject of slavery, and sentenced by R. T. LEAVITT, Jun., Justice of the Peace, to "HARD LABOUR for the term of three months, and pay the costs of prosecution,

taxed at fifteen dollars and sixty-five cents," from which Mr. Storrs appealed to the Court of Common Pleas. So much for liberty of speech in New Hampshire! Shame, shame on the perpetrators of such an outrage on law, liberty, and even decency!

HUNTING OF MEN.

A man who had been sold to a slave-trader in Tennessee, endeavoured to escape. He plunged into a river, but his pursuers reached the opposite side first. He took refuge upon a rock in the middle of the stream. Men and dogs were collected to secure him, but seeing escape hopeless, he

preferred death to slavery, and drowned himself. The seller was a member of a Methodist church, of good standing, and offered to refund half the price. But the trader refused to take it, remarking that he had yet several thousand dollars to give for d—d fools to drown themselves!

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

By MOORE.

O Freedom! Freedom! how I hate thy cant!
 Not eastern bombast, nor the savage rant
 Of purpled madmen, were they numbered all,
 From Roman Nero down to Russian Paul,
 Could grate upon my ear so mean, so base,
 As the rank jargon of that factious race,
 Who pant for license while they spurn control,
 And shout for rights, with rapine in their soul.
 Who can, with patience, for a moment see
 The medley mass of pride and misery,
 Of whips and charters, manacles and rights,
 Of slaving blacks and democratic whites?
 To think that man, thou just and righteous God!
 Should stand before thee with a tyrant's rod
 O'er creatures like himself, with souls from thee,
 Yet dare to boast of perfect liberty!
 Away! away! I'd rather hold my neck
 By doubtful tenure from a sultan's beck,
 In climes where liberty has scarce been named,
 Nor any right but that of ruling claimed,
 Than thus to live where bastard Freedom waves
 Her fustian flag, in mockery over slaves.

BRIEF NOTICES OF THE PROGRESS OF THE CAUSE OF ABOLITION IN THE UNITED STATES.—No. III.

THE Christian church is the depository of all moral and religious truth, and is so constituted by its divine founder for practical purposes. Among the great principles which its members are bound to recognize, to exemplify, and to diffuse, are those of universal justice and benevolence. Slavery is manifestly a gross violation of both. Its foundations are injustice and inhumanity. It is a daring violation of the natural rights of man—and an impious rejection of the authority of Christ, as the great moral legislator of the universe. Were the principle of slavery to be admitted, there would be an end of all personal security. The ties of kindred, and the endearments of social life, would cease to exist, or exist only to add bitterness to the cup of human woe. Man would be every where the enemy of man, for might would constitute right, and the most powerful and ferocious of our race would become masters of the rest. Slavery cannot be justified. It is alike opposed to the maxims of a sound philosophy, the dictates of a wise policy, and the decisions of holy writ. Man is not fit for any other state than that of freedom. Wherever slavery exists, the unhappy victim of oppression sinks into a state of moral degradation and wretchedness: nor does his oppressor escape uninjured. If the system brutalizes the slave, it demonizes the master. It is easy to gather from these remarks what is the duty of man as man. "The sense of duty," says an eloquent writer, "is the fountain of human rights. In other words, the same inward principle, which teaches the former, bears witness to the latter. Duties and rights must stand or fall together. It has been too common to oppose them one to another; but they are indissolubly joined together. The same inward principle which teaches a man what he is bound to do for others, teaches equally, and at the same instant, what others are bound to do to *him*. The same voice which forbids him to injure a single fellow-creature, forbids every fellow-creature to do *him* harm. His conscience in revealing the moral law, does not reveal a law for himself only, but speaks as a universal legislator. He has an intuitive conviction, that the obligations of the divine code press on others as truly as on himself. That principle which teaches him that he sustains the relation of brotherhood to all human beings, teaches him that this relation is reciprocal, that it gives indestructible claims as well as imposes solemn duties, and that what he owes to the members of this vast family, they owe to him in return." The sense of duty here alluded to, has ever been found too weak to control the lust of power, and the cravings of selfishness. The sanctions of religion, far reaching as eternity, must be superadded to give force and efficacy to its decisions.

When Christianity was first promulgated, it found slavery, as well as other iniquities, in the world. By the force of its moral principles this scourge of the human race was destroyed. Slavery was then the sin of the *world* exclusively. No master could enter the church without rendering to his servants that which was "JUST and EQUAL." It is not now, alas! the sin of the world merely. Considerable portions of the church practise it; and thus it is shielded from the opprobrium it deserves. Ministers, deacons, and members of churches are deeply implicated in the continuance of this abomination. In the United States of America, the great body of Christian professors either justify or connive at its existence; and should any one plead the cause of the oppressed; and demand, in the name of outraged humanity, indignant justice, and insulted religion, the immediate restoration of his unforfeited rights, he is held up to univer-

sal execration as the enemy of his country; and as the propagator of sentiments which shock the moral feelings of the nation.

Against this state of things have the abolitionists of America to contend. Happily for the interests of truth and humanity, they are every way qualified for the arduous work they have undertaken; and the manifest blessing which has hitherto attended their efforts, leaves no doubt that they will be enabled to prosecute it to a successful issue. The leading members of the American Anti-slavery Society are the ornaments of the churches to which they belong. Their aim is to purify the church from the taint of slavery, and then, by the church, to purify their country and the world.

At the first Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, there were not more than sixty Auxiliary Associations. At its second Anniversary they had increased to 225! So rapidly had public opinion been formed. During the year the Society published 122,000 copies of various pamphlets, besides the gratuitous distribution of copies of "*The Emancipator*," and the circulation of larger works. Nine agents were also employed, among whom was the eloquent and talented George Thompson, from England. This gentleman's labors were most abundant and influential, and merit a separate and detailed notice, because of their important bearing on the Anti-Slavery cause. No attempt, therefore, will be made in this paper to specify them.

Soon after the last Anniversary of the Society, the New England Anti-Slavery Society held a Convention at Boston. Its sessions were numerously attended, and of the most cheering character. By its labors a number of masterly documents have been produced, which have greatly enlightened and changed the public mind. This Society has now assumed the name of "*The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society*."

At the Convention the Rev. Samuel J. May, who acted as President, stated that, "It was matter of every day's occurrence for husbands to be torn from their wives, parents from their children, and brothers from their sisters, and sold into remediless exile and captivity. All this was done even in the boasted capital of this republic. The law gave no more protection to the slaves than to brutes. If they dared to offer any resistance, under the severest provocation, any brutality might be inflicted upon them. Even if a slave should venture to defend his father, or his child from violence, or his mother, or wife, or sister from pollution, it would be at the peril of his life. The law contemplated no improvement in the physical, intellectual, or moral condition of the slaves. Any attempt to instruct them in reading and writing, was regarded and punished as felony!" William Oakes, Esq., in the course of a powerful speech, said, "The slaves are, in general, practically in a state of absolute heathenism. Many retain their African superstitions, but the greater part have lost the religion of their fathers, without receiving any other in return. A great part are ignorant of even the being of a God, and only know the sound of his name from the oaths which they hear." In the course of the proceedings of the Convention, Mr. Garrison observed, "That he could not deem *this a land of freedom*, while in one half of it he could not denounce tyranny without perilling his life. We possessed neither the liberty of speech nor of the press. Was there not a reward of FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS still offered for his seizure, because he had ventured to assail a most execrable and bloody despotism? Even at the North, his personal security from outrage and abduction was by no means certain. Thought, utterance, action, the press, the pulpit, the bench, the bar, all were in servile bondage. It was, therefore, not merely an abuse of lan-

guage, but an outrage upon common sense ; it was consummate hypocrisy, and glaring falsehood, to call ours a free country. When all unequal laws, having respect to the color of the skin, shall have been universally expunged from the statute books, and prejudice scouted as a fiend, and the cord of caste burnt to ashes, and every chain broken, and every captive set free ; when the time shall have arrived that, in any part of our republic, it will be safe and honorable to assail the oppressor as the enemy of his species ; then, and not till then, may we truly call this THE LAND OF FREEDOM."

On the 22nd of April, a Convention was held at Putnam, Ohio, and an Auxiliary organized for that powerful state. The proximity of Ohio to the slave states, from which it has derived much of its population, and the constant intercourse which takes place in consequence, make its influence highly important in this cause.

In their declaration of sentiments they say, "We believe slavery to be a sin—always, every where, and only sin. Sin in itself, apart from the occasional rigors incidental to its administration, and from all those perils, and liabilities, and positive inflictions to which its victims are continually exposed. Sin, in the nature of the act which creates it, and in the elements which constitute it. Sin, because it converts persons into things ; makes men property, God's image, merchandise. Because it forbids men to use themselves for the advancement of their own well-being, and turns them into mere instruments, to be used by others solely for the benefit of the users. Because it constitutes one man the owner of the body, soul, and spirit of other men—gives him power and permission to make his own pecuniary profit the great end of their being, thus striking them out of existence as beings possessing rights and susceptibilities of happiness, and forcing them to exist merely as appendages to his own existence. In other words, because slavery *holds and uses men, as mere means for the accomplishment of ends, of which ends their own interests are not a part ?*"

In their plan of operations they propose "to effect the destruction of slavery, not by exciting discontent in the minds of the slaves, not by instigating outrages, not by the physical force of the free states, not by the interference of Congress with state rights ; but we shall seek its overthrow by ceaseless proclamations of the truth upon the whole subject—by urging upon slave-holders and the entire community, the flagrant enormity of slavery, as a sin against God and man—by demonstrating the safety of immediate emancipation to the persons and property of the masters, to the interests of the slave, and the welfare of the community, from the laws of mind, the history of emancipation, and the indissoluble connexion between duty and safety—by presenting facts, arguments, and the pecuniary advantages of emancipation to the master—by correcting the public sentiment of the free states, which now sustains and sanctions the system, and by concentrating its rectified power upon the conscience of the slave-holder—by promoting the observance of the monthly concert of prayer for the abolition of slavery throughout the world, that by a union of faith and works, we may bring our tithes into the store-house, and prove therewith the 'God of the oppressed.'" They add, "For success in this sacred enterprise, we cease from man, and look to God alone. In Him is everlasting strength, with Him the residue of the spirit of plenteous redemption. His word has gone out of his mouth, 'For the oppression of the poor, and for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord ; I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him.' His wisdom is our guide—His power, our defence—His truth, our weapon—His Spirit, our comforter—His promise, the anchor of our souls—

His approval, our exceeding great reward—and His blessing upon our past labors, a sure presage of the glory to be revealed in the triumphs of a redemption which already draweth nigh.” Efficient State Societies were also formed during the year in Vermont, Maine, and New Hampshire; all of which are in active operation.

In July, 1834, the city of New York was in the hands of a formidable mob. For three days the laws were violated with impunity, and the lives and property of the Abolitionists were placed in the greatest jeopardy. Many of them were obliged to fly from their habitations with their families. The house of Mr. Lewis Tappan was sacked. Every thing valuable was thrown into the street, and burnt before his door. Much property was destroyed—the free people of color were inhumanly treated—but happily no lives were lost. This riot was followed by another at Philadelphia. The sufferers there were the free people of color. Two or three of these died from the ruffian violence inflicted on them by the infuriated mob.

It is cheering to turn from the contemplation of such scenes as these to the peaceful and honourable course of the Abolitionists. Unappalled by the calumnies which were circulated, and the revenge with which they were threatened, they gathered new strength from opposition; and, in proportion as they were tried, they became devoted to the sacred cause they had espoused.

Among the various Anti-Slavery works which were extensively circulated, the following deserve especial mention, for the talent which they display, and the effect they have produced on the public mind. The “Appeal” and “Oasis” of Mrs. Child; the “Lectures” of Mr. Phelps; “Our Countrymen in Chains,” by Whittier; and the “Inquiry into Colonization and Anti-Slavery,” by Mr. Jay. Of the latter work the first edition was taken up at once, and another of 5000 copies has been issued from the press. It has been reprinted in this country, and ought to be read by all who wish to understand the whole of the subject. It is calm, clear, and decided.

The following remarks are taken from Judge Jay’s concluding observations on “American Slavery” legally considered: “Such is American slavery—a system which classes with the beasts of the field, over whom dominion has been given to man, an intelligent, and accountable being, the instant his Creator has breathed into his nostrils the breath of life. Over this infant heir of immortality no mother has a right to watch—no father may guide his feeble steps, check his wayward appetites, and train him for future usefulness, happiness, and glory. Torn from his parents, and sold in the market, he soon finds himself laboring amongst strangers, under the whip of a driver, and his task augmenting with his ripening strength. Day after day, and year after year, is he driven to the cotton or sugar field, as the ox to the furrow. No hope of reward lightens his toil—the subject of insult, the victim of brutality, the laws of his country afford him no redress—his wife, such only in name, may at any moment be dragged from his side—his children, heirs only of his misery and degradation, are but articles of merchandise—his mind, stupified by his oppressors, is wrapped in darkness—his soul, no man careth for it—his body, worn with stripes and toil, is at length committed to the earth, like the brute that perisheth.”

It should also be noticed here that J. G. Birney, Esq., of Kentucky, rendered efficient aid to the Anti-Slavery cause by his admirable letters. The fact of his being a Southern man, and but lately a distinguished agent of the Colonization

Society, and of his proving his sincerity by the emancipation of his own slaves, gave great weight to his statements.

This year was marked by the formation of "*The American Union*," a society which endeavours to effect a junction between the American Colonization and Anti-Slavery Societies. It is too Anti-Slavery in its spirit for the former, and too much the creature of expediency for the latter. It has consequently but few supporters; and, although several respectable ministers of the gospel are among its office-bearers, it is not likely to have a prolonged existence.

The Second Anniversary Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society was undisturbed by any outbreaks of popular fury. The church in which it was held was crowded by an attentive and deeply-interested auditory. Mr. Birney, in a most powerful address, replied to all the objections urged against the doctrines and doings of the Abolitionists. In his selection of facts, arguments, and illustrations he was equally happy. In concluding his speech Mr. B. made the following emphatic remarks: "Permit me to say, before God and men, that I do not believe there is any other principle of action than that adopted by your society, which ever will or can terminate the existence of slavery in the United States. I say this not unadvisedly, but deliberately and calmly. The thing must else come to a head, and, when it does, it will burst over the land with tremendous and desolating violence." Other gentlemen addressed the meeting, with great effect, but the speech which created the greatest sensation was that delivered by Mr. Thompson, in which he severely denounced his countryman, Dr. Cox, for refusing to bear his public and solemn protest against American Slavery.

Among the resolutions passed at the private sitting of the Society, was one to raise the sum of 30,000 dollars for the expenditure of the coming year. A subscription was immediately commenced, and 14,500 dollars was collected.

The whole of the important proceedings of the Society were begun, continued, and ended in prayer. A day of fasting and prayer, on behalf of the Anti-Slavery cause in the United States, and a day of thanksgiving to God for the abolition of slavery in the British West India islands, were recommended to all its auxiliaries and friends—the former to be kept on the 25th of June, the latter on the first of August every year.

FLOGGING FEMALES.

Bear'st thou a man's, a Christian's name?
If not for pity, yet for shame,
O fling the scourge aside!
Her tender form may writhe and bleed—
But deeper cuts the barbarous deed
The female's modest pride.

Sin first by woman came;—for this
The Lord hath marred her earthly bliss,
With many a bitter throe:
But mercy tempers wrath, and scorn
Pursues the wretch who adds a thorn
To heaven-inflicted woe.

Thine infancy was lulled to rest,
On woman's nurturing bosom pressed,
Enfolded by her arm;—
Her hand upheld thy tottering pace,—
And O, how deep the foul disgrace,
If thine can work her harm!

Hush not thy nature's conscious plea;
Weak, helpless, succourless, to thee
Her looks for mercy pray.
He who records each lash, will roll
Torrents of vengeance on thy soul:—
O, fling that scourge away!

CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH.

R E V I E W.

Report of the Discussion on American Slavery, in Dr. Wardlaw's Chapel, between Mr. George Thompson and the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge. Glasgow: 2nd ed. 8vo. pp. 148.

In our first number we referred to the discussion recently held in Glasgow, between Messrs. Thompson and Breckinridge, and expressed in general terms our opinion of the merits of the combatants. The judgment we then pronounced has been confirmed by the publication now before us, which we hasten to introduce to our readers, and strongly to recommend to their immediate perusal. It was our intention to furnish an outline of the discussion; but the present pamphlet, extending to 148 pages, has compelled us to relinquish the design. We despair by any such outline as our limits would permit to do justice to the large mass of information which Mr. Thompson has supplied. Our sketch would, of necessity, be so meagre, as to present a very partial and inadequate view of the case, and we therefore prefer referring our readers to the publication itself. We shall frequently have occasion to make use of the documents brought forward in the discussion, and shall, for the present, dismiss them altogether. The result of the discussion does not admit of doubt. Mr. Breckinridge did his utmost; but his zeal outran his discretion, and his services, however they may be estimated in America, will be regarded, throughout this country, as having signally failed to accomplish their purpose. His adroitness and subtlety of reasoning, and the unsparing invective in which he freely indulged, instead of redeeming his cause, only served to exhibit more palpably its weakness, and to place its essential depravity in a less dubious and more hateful light. Mr. Thompson, on the contrary, not only sustained his former reputation as a public speaker, but established his charges against the government and churches of America, by such an overwhelming mass of evidence, as puts incredulity at defiance. We pity the

idiocy, or despise the wickedness, of the man who shall henceforth say that slavery is not a national sin in America, or that the churches of that country are not deeply implicated in its support.

The committee of the Emancipation Society of Glasgow deemed it proper to convene a public meeting on the 1st of August, in order to give a public declaration of their judgment on the merits and results of the discussion. This meeting was numerous attended, and was addressed by several of the most distinguished ministers of that city. Strong resolutions, which we print in another part of the present number, were passed—the first of which was moved by Dr. Wardlaw, in a speech rarely surpassed in manly eloquence, generous kindlings of heart, and high-toned principle. We should do injustice to our readers, and to the sacred cause we advocate, if we did not close the present article with extracts from this admirable oration, for the length of which we are confident no apology will be demanded.

I bless God, Mr. Chairman, for the degree in which our cause has triumphed. But, while we do not forget our obligations to Divine Providence, neither must we overlook the human instruments employed by that providence in the attainment of the end. And this evening we have to express our obligations to one of these. It has been by the combined, earnest, persevering voice of public opinion reiterating in the ears of our government—not on the ground of mere political expediency, but on the higher and more sacred ground of moral and Christian principle—the demand for the breaking of the yoke of the oppressed, and the raising of the enslaved and degraded to the dignity of men, and to the rights and the privileges of freemen, that our cause has triumphed. We owe not a little, then, to those friends of that cause, who have contributed to enlighten and to enliven the public mind—to give it a just impression of wrong, and a clear perception of right—to rouse its indignation against the one—and to fix its benevolence in the resolute determination to effect the other. And amongst those to whom, on this ground, obligation ought to

be felt and expressed by us, the subject of the resolution I am about to propose to you, holds no inferior place. He exerted a power over the public mind of no ordinary amount. He brought up the cause in our own city, when it had long languished for want of adequate stimulation. He put new life into it; and he kept that life in vigor till the conquest was achieved. We shall not soon forget the triumphant result of his controversy, maintained in this our city, hand to hand, foot to foot, with the phalanx of the colonial interest—headed at that time by their own chosen companion—but a champion whom, for their own sakes, I forbear to name—as I believe they are all as much ashamed of him as we could wish them to be. With the ability, the zeal, the eloquence, the energy, the steadfastness of principle, the exhausting and indefatigable perseverance of our champion, we were more than satisfied. We expressed our satisfaction; and we expressed it not in words merely, but practically. The most decided and flattering proof that can be given of satisfaction with an agent whom we have employed in one work, is to set him to another. We did so. He had done his duty so nobly in the home department of the great cause he had at heart, that, when he had achieved our object in the disenthralment of the slaves in our dependencies, and we looked abroad upon the world for other fields of philanthropic effort, we naturally and unanimously turned our eyes to him, believing that he who had done so well at home, would do equally well abroad.

Sir, when we began with our own colonies, we never meant to stop there. That was not the limit of our desires, or of our determinations. Our field was the world. Our object was universal freedom; the breaking of every yoke—the deliverance of the oppressed in “every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation.” And in contemplating this comprehensive object, whither was it to be expected we should first look? Whither but to America? There, there existed the greatest amount of the accursed evil whose extermination we desired; and in that country, both as Britons and as Christians, we could not but feel a special interest. This was not unwarrantable interference. It is always warrantable—it is more, it is morally incumbent—for fellow-men, if they have opportunity, to expostulate with fellow-men—for fellow-Christians to expostulate with fellow-Christians—when they see evils existing, of which all the principles of justice, humanity, and religion demand the extirpation. There are no considerations of international delicacy and etiquette that can justify connivance at sin on the part of those who have aught whatever in their

power to accomplish its removal. If we fail to bring this power, whatever it may be, into operation, we become *socii criminis*, partners in the guilt. On this principle, if our American brethren saw any thing in us, which they thought, and justly thought, was an evil of sufficient magnitude to induce their kind offices for its suppression, we ought to feel obliged by their using their endeavours to stir us up to a due consideration of it, and to practical efforts for its removal. On the ground then, the broad ground of universal philanthropy, which allows no man to say, “Am I my brother’s keeper?” we look to America. On the ground of the transatlantic States owing their origin to Britain, and being kindred blood with ourselves, we looked to America. On the ground of their having derived their very slavery from us, and having had it fostered by our example, we looked to America. And when thus, in common with our brethren in the Northern and Southern Metropolis, we looked to America, and resolved on a mission of benevolence to that land, all eyes simultaneously looked to George Thompson, as the man of all others most eminently fitted for the charge of the important and difficult trust. We sent him to America. We sent him, however, be it remembered, in accordance with invitations received by himself from associated friends in the same cause on that side of the Atlantic. Not that such invitation was necessary to justify his mission. It was not. He might have gone from us without any intimation of their wishes. We do not wait till the heathen send to us for missionaries. We send them uninvited. On the same principle might we have sent our Anti-Slavery missionary. But it was better, and it was providential, that, while we were resolving to send, they asked him to come. He went. He went with the best wishes of the benevolent, and the fervent prayers of the pious. He remained in the faithful, laborious, and perilous execution of the commission intrusted to him, as long as it could be done without the actual sacrifice of life—till it would have been the insanity of hardihood to have persisted longer. He returned. We hailed his arrival. We privately and publicly testified our approbation of the course he had pursued. The present question is—are we now prepared to retract that approbation? Has the ordeal through which our friend and commissioned agent has recently passed, altered our minds, and disposed us to substitute for it a sentence of condemnation? Are we now ready to cashier him—to censure him—to send him to Coventry—to deprive him of his commission, and declare him disqualified for ever holding another, unworthy of all future service? I express my own judgment in the shortest of all monosyllables.

I say, No. And the resolution which I hold in my hand, calls upon you to say, No. I consider the recent controversy as having yielded only fresh ground for confidence; as having fully proved that the challenge he had issued was no empty bravado—but it was founded in conscious sincerity, in the fullest conviction of rectitude of principle—of truth, of facts, of force of argument, and of a fair prospect, not of mere victory, but of benefit to his cause. I shrink not from saying of him thus publicly, what I have said more privately in the committee, that I consider him, in this as in former controversies, as having borne himself, in every respect, creditably to his character and to his cause; to have established, to the full, his previous statements; to have successfully vindicated his transatlantic proceeding; to have justified the condemnation of the American Colonization schemes; and to have fairly fastened the guilt of slavery on the government and people of the United States; that I consider him, in a word, as having come out of this seven-times-heated furnace unscathed—without a “hair of his head singed, or the smell of fire having passed upon him.” If this meeting are of one mind with me, they will accept the following resolution. (See Resolutions, p. 68.)

It is far from being my intention, Mr. Chairman, to go through the controversy, and to comment on its various branches. Far less do I mean to give utterance to a single word disrespectful, unfriendly, or unkind, towards the Rev. gentleman who stood forward as his opponent. I give that gentleman all credit for sincerity, although I think him mistaken. I give him credit for personal and ministerial character and respectability; and while I cannot but condemn the contumelious and sarcastic bitterness of some of his personalities, and whilst I conceive him to have failed in argument on every point that was worth contending for, yet I give him credit too for talent, and tact, and shrewdness, and great general information and ability. His failure was owing, not to any deficiency in these and other qualifications, but to the intrinsic badness of his cause. Let me add, that I give him credit too for his spirit of patriotism, by which he was induced to offer himself to the vindication of his country. I can only say—and I say it because I conceive him to possess mental qualities, and a weight of influence, such as, in a good cause, might fit him for eminent usefulness—O that that patriotism were guided by other principles! that, under the conviction that “righteousness exalteth a nation, and that sin is the reproach of any people,” and that every moment of the wilful continuance of sin is a moment of guilt and danger, he would throw the weight of his influence into the right scale, and make them tell on

the true welfare of America, by making them tell on the immediate annihilation of the evil, or rather of the frightful combination of evils, in the oppression of enslaved millions;—the instant removal of the accursed thing from the midst of the camp. This would be patriotism. I shall live in the hope that Mr. Breckinridge may yet see and feel it to be so; and that, like another Dr. Cox, he may carry with him, from this country, the full spirit of liberty, and set himself, on his return, to rescue his country from the reproach of all nations for her flagrant inconsistency, and from the gathering vengeance of offended heaven against practised and tolerated oppression.

The question before us now is, whether he made out a good case against Mr. Thompson?—and to this question I again answer—for you, I hope, as well as for myself—No. I think he made out no case against him, either as to the great general principles of his cause, or as to any of the more important details or departments of the discussion. He attempted to show that the slavery of America was not chargeable on America as a nation. I, for one, was amazed at the attempt; triumphantly as I conceived Mr. Thompson to establish the charge he had brought, there did not seem to me any need for new grounds of proof. Why should Mr. B. tell us about the limited powers of Congress, and the restraints of delicacy and of honor under which even these limited powers are laid? Why tell us of the distinct legislatures, as to this and other matters, of the various states of the national confederacy; and of their incompetency to interfere with each other, or of the general government to interfere with any of them? Why tell us of the peculiarities in the legislative enactments of the different states, and the difficulties thence arising? What is all this, and much more, to the purpose? What is all this but an admission, that, on this particular point, whatever it may be in others, the federal constitution of the United States is radically and essentially bad? I must be allowed to apply this designation to any constitution that contains not within itself the power of grappling with and putting down great and flagrant iniquities. To vindicate the continuance, for one day, of the slavery and oppression of two millions and a half of immortal fellow-creatures, in a country, too, boasting of its unvalued freedom, on the ground that the constitution of the government of that country is such as not to admit of its being interfered with, my wonder is, that any man could stand forward and tell us this, and not “blush and hang his head” to own himself an American. What are national sins, if those are not such which arise from the very constitution of a nation's government? For what is a nation answerable, if not for its constitution? And if

that constitution is defective and wrong, where, if not with the nation, lies the sin of its not being mended—of the deficiency not being supplied—of the wrong not being rectified? If the constitution of America is confessedly such that it cannot authoritatively put forth its powers for the abolition of iniquities, and cruelties, and abominations, so flagrant and atrocious as are comprised in a system of slavery so woefully extensive—let America—the country, the nation, the people of America—rulers and ruled, if republicans will admit the distinction—let America bear the disgrace, and bear the guilt.

The proceedings of the abolitionists of America were assailed, in the course of the discussion, in no measured terms of severity. It is needless to say that, whether justly or unjustly assailed, it is not Mr. Thompson alone that is answerable for them. He followed out principles sanctioned at home. He followed out instructions received from home. I am not aware of any point in which he went beyond the terms of his commission. I speak, of course, of the great general features of his procedure. And in these, and in the minuter details, moreover, he acted in alliance with societies there, holding the same principles with ourselves. If there has been blame, then, we and they must share it with him. So far as I have yet seen, I have no objections. The question now is—Have you?

To me it appears that the question respecting the propriety or the impropriety of the measures of the abolitionists will be found to resolve itself very much into another—into a question of principle. The principle to which I refer is the principle of our own association—the principle (to use a convenient term which has been coined for it) of immediatism. If the principle of gradual abolition be the right principle, then the measures were undoubtedly wrong—as far as possible wrong. But, if we are right in our principle of immediate abolition, I see not how Mr. T. and his associates on the other side of the water could well have acted otherwise than they have done. This seems to me the turning point; and of this Mr. T.'s opponent appeared to be sensible, when he urged so repeatedly the unreasonableness—the infatuation, as he plainly thought it—of insisting upon the change being made instantly, independently of all regard to consequences. Now, Mr. Chairman, I was once a gradualist. It was in the earlier stages of our own controversy. I will not trouble you with the reasons which then satisfied my conscience. They do not satisfy it now. I now hold, and blush not to avow—notwithstanding Mr. B.'s evident astonishment that it should be held and avowed by any reasonable man—the principle of doing, and doing immediately, whatever the law of God, in spirit

and in precept, demands, without regard to consequences. The most unreasonable of all principles, in my apprehension, is that which sanctions continuance in sin, and waits in anticipation of a distant day, and a position of circumstances, in which it will become right to relinquish it—right to cease from evil! My principle is simply this—abandon sin, do duty, and leave results with God. There are no imaginable circumstances in which it can be right or necessary to break the law of God, in order to avoid evil. Duty is ours; consequences his. It is a matter of principle; and, when we have ascertained a principle to be right, it is not requisite that we should also ascertain, before we venture to act upon it, whether it may be acted upon with safety. We, however, have found, in our experience, that it may. God has taught us this lesson; may our transatlantic friends learn it, and act upon it! And if with them the evil has been sanctioned by the constitution of their country, and on this ground compensation, to whatever amount, should be deemed equitable—Mr. B. boasted of their freedom from taxation (consistently or inconsistently with himself is not the present question), and somewhat exultingly contrasted, in this respect, America with Britain—if heavily taxed Britain, then, amidst all her burdens, could part with her twenty millions for the attainment of her benevolent end, how much may not be spared for the same purpose by untaxed America!—Here let them emulate us, if they will. I, for one, shall be well pleased, if they follow us in every thing but the ill-omened apprenticeship. I hope our experience will be a warning to them against this; and teach them to go right through with the business at once. I hold not only emancipation, but immediate emancipation, as a point of clear natural right; of right, I mean, to the slave. Experience in many instances—and even on the large scale of our own colonial transactions—has taught that the apprehensions entertained on this subject have had little or no solid foundation. Every one must have been struck with the identity of the whole strain of argument in the recent discussion, about the necessity of training and preparation; of endeavouring to satisfy owners and masters of their interest and their duty; of precautions to be taken; of instructions to be communicated; of habits to be formed; and of many other things to be done, before it could be safe, and consequently before it could be right, to emancipate. We were used to this. We had had it to satiety, to nausea; and we should have had it, Mr. Chairman, to this hour, and for years and generations to come, had we not taken, firmly and determinedly, the ground of immediate, entire, and unconditional emancipation. We did this. We gained our point. And where are the anticipated hor-

rors! And our ground has not changed. It is a matter of principle and of right still; and, therefore, we are immediatists in America, as we were in the West Indies. Mr. Thompson's mission has been called a failure. Those who think there is no success unless the end be fully attained at once, may call it so if they will; but the formation of 600 abolition societies, comprising, I believe, more than 30,000 members; the extensive infusion of the spirit of abolition into the bosoms of so many influential ministers and laymen, and of the rising youth of the colleges and seminaries of instruction, as well as into so considerable a number of the public journals—these, and other things, speak a different language—tell a different tale. But I cannot enlarge here, without taking up ground that belongs to another, by whom it will be occupied with more efficiency.

There is but one other point, Mr. Chairman, to which I wish to advert. Mr. Thompson had given us, before the late discussion, very affecting, humbling, shocking details, in proof that, in America, slavery was, to a sad extent, the sin of the church. Now, Sir, if there was any one point on which, more than on the rest, Mr. T. was successful in establishing his statements, and clearing himself from every imputation of injustice, unfairness, and exaggeration, this was that point. The documentary evidence adduced on the last night of the controversy contained disclosures which gave him an appalling triumph. I could not but be pleased to see our friend so successfully vindicate his integrity; but oh! the satisfaction was fearfully darkened by the nature of the facts! To vindicate the ministers and churches of America was avowed as one of Mr. B.'s principal objects. In no point did he more signally fail. The defence was feeble, inefficient, and fruitless. The facts against him were overwhelming.

And here, Sir, let me say, there rests an obligation, most imperative and solemn, upon the Christians and Christian churches of our own country. The duty is, to hasten their remonstrances to their erring brethren on the other side of the Atlantic; to rouse them to a proper sense of their sin, and of what the law of God and the gospel of Christ alike demand of them. Mr. B. has said, that if this subject is much meddled with, and especially if such measures are persisted in as those hitherto pursued, there must be a breaking up of the fellowship of American and British Christians. Sir, I prize that fellowship highly; I prize it individually; I prize it collectively. But if it is a fellowship which requires to be maintained by connivance at iniquity and oppression—if it is not to be enjoyed without our entering into a compact to be silent or to be inactive on topics respecting which we

feel it our incumbent and indispensable duty to "lift up our voice like a trumpet," and show our brethren their sin—then I say, with whatever reluctance and whatever pain, let the fellowship cease! I have no conception of that sweet and delightful communion, of which the terms are, silence, and compromise, and gentle dealing with crying abominations. I have no relish for a harmony which a word uttered in behalf of oppressed and degraded and suffering millions, would convert into discord, alienation, and anarchy. I desire to have no ear for that music which would be turned to jarring and harshness, if a single chord were touched of sympathy with the unrighted bondsman! By maintaining fellowship in such circumstances, and on such terms, we do double wrong. We not only "suffer sin" in our brethren; we directly encourage it. Let us rather, by faithful remonstrance, "deliver our own souls,"—wash our hands clean. If we retain fellowship without such remonstrance, we contribute in the very strongest way in our power to confirm every light impression of the evil; by renouncing it, we give declaration—strong, I admit, but not too strong—of our own impression of that evil; and such renunciation, dictated by such a principle, may be the very means of rousing from the lethargy we are solicitous to disturb, and of giving the impulse we are desirous to impart.

I must have done. The resolution I have submitted to you expresses the decided conviction of my own mind. As to the sneers at our agent's not going immediately to the southern states, it would be foolish to reply to them; as foolish as it would have been for him to have gone. I shall say no more than that such an act of insanity would have shown that we had been mistaken in our man; for, by proving him destitute of common sense, it would have proved him undeserving of our confidence and commission. We no more thought of charging him to go on his arrival in America directly to the southern states, the seats of transatlantic slavery, than, in the case of our own colonial slavery, we thought of sending him with a commission to the planters and assembly of Jamaica, or to make an emancipation tour through the West India islands. The one would not have been less absurd and hopeless than the other.

I conclude by saying that, in consequence of the recent discussion, George Thompson, instead of having sunk, has risen in my estimation, both as to personal character and as to official ability and trustworthiness; and never stood higher in my regard than he does at the present moment. The resolution will be seconded, and you will then have it in your power to express your concurrence with this estimate, or your dissent from it.

RESOLUTIONS OF ASSOCIATED BODIES ON THE SUBJECT OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

IN our last number we referred to the Congregational Union of England and Wales, and expressed some surprise at the non-appearance of the resolutions, which were understood to have been adopted at its annual meeting in May last. These resolutions have subsequently appeared, and we now print them, with others of a similar order. The congregational body has scarcely an existence in the southern States of America. Mr. Breckinridge indeed affirmed, in the course of his discussion at Glasgow, that it did not consist of more than a dozen churches. It can therefore be implicated but to a very limited extent in the direct support and practice of slavery; but many of its leading members at the north are among the most strenuous opponents of abolition, and the apologists for that unhallowed prejudice against color, by which American society is so deeply disgraced. Upon those persons we hope the resolutions of the Congregational Union, moderate and courteous as they are, will have a beneficial effect. But there is another body in America, much more numerous and influential than the Congregationalists, with which the Independents of this country have entered into immediate and close correspondence. We refer to the Presbyterians, one of the great pillars of American slavery, to whom the Congregational Union has sent, and from whom they have received, a deputation. In the misdeeds and crimes of this body, our brethren will be deeply implicated, if their intercourse be continued one moment longer than is necessary to discharge the obligations of Christian fidelity. May they be the means of arousing them to a sense of their guilt, and of quickening them to the discharge of those duties which are enforced alike by humanity and religion!

We are also glad to record this month the energetic and pungent resolutions of the General Baptists, passed at their Annual Meeting at Bourne, and to commend their spirit to the imitation of the churches. May the Christians of this land speedily unite in a firm and holy determination to cleanse the world of the abominations and defilement of slavery!

At a Meeting of the General Committee of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, held at the Congregational Library, on Tuesday, August 2, 1836, the Rev. H. F. Burder, D.D., one of the Committee appointed by a resolution of the last General Meeting "to prepare a faithful and affectionate remonstrance with the American Churches, on the continuance of Slavery in the United States," presented the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

1. That the Ministers and Churches of the Congregational Union have much pleasure in availing themselves of every opportunity of expressing the feelings of fraternal and cordial affection, which they cherish towards their beloved brethren, the ministers and Churches of their own order and of the Presbyterian denomination in the United States of America; and that they greatly rejoice in the many indications of their en-

lightened zeal and their expansive benevolence, in the diffusion of the gospel of Christ, and in the promotion of the general interests of humanity.

2. That they feel constrained, by the force of fraternal affection, and the conviction of imperative duty, to convey to their beloved brethren the views and sentiments which prevail among the Congregational churches of Britain, on the subject of holding in a state of slavery any of their fellow-men. In doing this they would not forget that many national sins and evils may be alleged against their own country, that it has been but recently delivered from the guilt of upholding the system of colonial slavery, and that therefore it is the more incumbent on them to take into their most candid consideration, all the peculiarities and difficulties which may threaten to retard the accomplishment of the same glorious object in the United

States. At the same time they cannot but remind their American brethren, that during many preceding years, and some of them years of great discouragement, British Christians deemed it their sacred duty, to lift up among their countrymen the voice of remonstrance and of expostulation, and to press upon the legislature of their land the claims of the oppressed and the enslaved: nor do they hesitate to ascribe, in a considerable degree, to the blessing of God on these persevering and prayerful endeavours, the attainment of the long-desired emancipation.

3. That in the deliberate and decided opinion of the churches and ministers connected with this union, no considerations of commercial advantage or political expediency can justify the detention in a state of slavery of any human beings, since God has made them of one blood; has endowed them with the capabilities of reason and reflection; and has designed for them, without exception of color or country, all the blessings of the common salvation: that it is, therefore, most awfully culpable to withhold from any of them the rights of personal freedom, the advantages of Christian instruction, or a full equality of participation in the privileges and ordinances of the church of Christ; and that to withhold any of these sacred and inalienable rights, on the ground of color and of descent, is to act in direct opposition to the spirit and requirements of Christianity, and to yield to the influence of a prejudice, at once unworthy of an enlightened nation, and altogether inconsistent with the avowed principles of a people distinguished among the nations of the earth, as the assertors and advocates of national freedom and independence.

4. That, being commanded by the authority of their Lord and Master, "not to suffer sin upon their brethren," they feel impelled, alike by a sense of duty and by the consciousness of brotherly love, most earnestly and affectionately to beseech their dear brethren of the transatlantic churches, to unite together, by their most strenuous, persevering, and judicious efforts, accompanied by their fervent prayers, with a view to liberate their churches and their nation from the fearful responsibility and reproach of being, in any degree, implicated in the guilt of the slave-holding and slave-dealing part of the American population; and thus to do what in them lies to achieve the entire abolition of slavery; to avert the displeasure of "the blessed and only Potentate," the righteous Ruler and Judge of nations, from whom alone cometh true and lasting prosperity; and to bring down more abundantly upon their country, as well as upon themselves, those showers of blessing which

have already descended upon so many of their favoured churches.

JOHN BLACKBURN,
W. STERN PALMER,
JOSEPH WONTNER, Secretaries.

At a Meeting of the Handsworth Anti-Slavery Society, held on Wednesday evening, August 3, 1836, in Union Chapel, Handsworth, the Rev. John Hammond in the chair, the following resolutions, after due consideration, were unanimously adopted:—

1. That the members of this Society now met, record their unalterable abhorrence of slavery of every kind and every degree, their sympathy with the multitude of their fellow-subjects in the Mauritius and West India Colonies, consigned to aggravated slavery under the delusive name of apprenticeship, after they had been redeemed from thralldom by a generous people for twenty millions sterling; and their grief that any British statesman should enact such an absurd law as that of the slave apprenticeship, which renders suspicious every other specious proposal of government.

2. That while this meeting testify their grief for the fallen state of those American churches, which, polluted with the monstrous sin of slave-holding, have given cause to fear that their religion has been very different from the laws of the gospel, they congratulate those churches which are free from that iniquity, and those noble-minded individuals who, amidst obloquy and danger, have advocated the cause of the doubly injured and oppressed people of color, and have formed so many active associations for the immediate reparation of their wrongs. They particularly admire the conduct of George Thompson, and congratulate him, who, at a great pecuniary sacrifice and much personal danger, devoted himself to the service of religion and humanity, and who in the hour of peril never flinched from the duties he owed to Christianity and his country: they also congratulate the several Baptist Associations which have boldly borne testimony against the criminal conduct of the cruelties of their denomination in America, and refused to hold communion with them, until their repentance became as evident as their sin has been.

3. That this meeting express their earnest desire that the London Missionary Society, and the Congregational Union for England and Wales, will take care not to admit any delegate from any of the American churches in future, but such as are known to be true and honest abolitionists. This meeting also express their hopes that the

Rev. Thomas Price will obtain extensive circulation for his monthly publication on Slavery in America, and Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the world.

JOHN HAMMOND,

Chairman.

At a very numerous and highly respectable meeting, held in Dr. Heugh's Chapel, Glasgow, August 1, 1836, Robert Grahame, Esq., of Whitehill, in the chair, the following resolutions were passed:

1. That in the deliberate judgment of his meeting, the wish announced by Mr. George Thompson to meet publicly any antagonist, especially any minister of the gospel from the United States, on the subject of American Slavery, or on any one of the branches of that subject, was dictated by a well-founded consciousness of the integrity of his purpose, and assurance of the correctness of his facts; and that the recent discussion in this city between him and the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, of Baltimore, has left, not merely unshaken, but confirmed and augmented, their confidence in the rectitude of his principles, the purity of his motives, the propriety of his measures, the fidelity of his statements, and the straightforward honesty and undaunted intrepidity of his zeal.

2. That the Glasgow Emancipation Society considers itself called upon to repeat its unmitigated reprobation of Slavery, as existing in the United States, of America, and of that prejudice against color, which is at once a result and support of the slave-system, a system which glaringly violates a great principle in the American constitution, declaring liberty to be the inalienable right of all men; which opposes the spirit and letter of the religion of holy benevolence so extensively professed by the American people; which is productive of an incalculable amount of crime and misery, both among the two millions of slaves and those by whom they were held in bondage, and which must constantly offend Almighty God, and expose that land to the visitations of his displeasure: that it also repeats the expression of its cordial joy in the rapidity with which the cause of immediate abolition has spread and is now spreading in America; in the peaceful, intrepid, and religious spirit which, amidst good and bad report, the American abolitionists have been enabled to display; and in the near prospect of bloodless triumph with which Divine Providence already animates their efforts; and finally, that it resolves anew, along with its many British allies, to remonstrate with the American people in the spirit of fidelity and love, on the claims of the negro

population; to cheer the abolitionists of America onward in their path of benevolence, until slavery shall disappear from the American continent, and America and Britain, already united by many powerful ties, shall consistently and indissolubly unite, for the abolition of slavery from the face of the earth, and the promotion of the happiness of the whole human family.

3. That it is of great importance for the friends of freedom in different countries to co-operate in hastening the extinction of slavery throughout the world, and that in this conviction the meeting feel much satisfaction in the interchange of friendly acknowledgments that has just passed between the emancipationists of this city and of Paris.

ROBERT GRAHAME,

Chairman.

Resolutions adopted at the Annual Association of the Evangelical General Baptists, held at Bourne, on June 30, 1836, and the three following days, and representing 115 churches, containing 13,000 members.

That we have long beheld with pleasure the apparent prosperity of the Baptist denomination in America; have heard with delight the accounts of their religious revivals; and felt a lively interest in their efforts to diffuse the gospel in long-benighted Burmah.

That the recent disclosures which have been made respecting the extent to which American Baptists are implicated in the horrid sin of maintaining African slavery, have produced a most painful change in our views and feelings, and lead us to look with suspicion on their revivals and seeming prosperity; that we abhor, as most wicked and unjust, the conduct of those who are themselves slave-holders; and behold with unmingled disgust the temporizing and unchristian proceedings of those Americans who, though not themselves slave-holders, sanction the wickedness of their brethren, as was done by their disgraceful silence at the last Triennial Convention.

That, indulging these feelings, we learn with much satisfaction that the American General Baptists are as a body abolitionists, and feel our union with them closer on this account; that we admire the noble and truly Christian declaration and vigorous efforts of the American Anti-Slavery Society; that we express to these friends of humanity and religion our sympathy with them in the arduous struggle they have commenced; and would urge them to persevere in their Christian exertions, till America shall no longer bear the dreadful stigma of being professedly the land of liberty, but, through

the wickedness of professing Christians principally, in reality the land of slavery.

That these resolutions be printed in the "Patriot," and be forwarded to the "Baptist Repository," and the "Baptist Ma-

gazine;" and that they be transmitted, with a suitable letter, to the respective secretaries of the American Anti-Slavery Society, of the Freewill Baptist Conference, and of the Baptist Triennial Convention.

SLAVE-FLOGGING PROFESSORS.

[From Bourne's *Picture of Slavery*.]

A preacher, on the Lord's-day morning, frequently stripped his female slave or slaves, tied them up to the rafters of his house, scourged them, left them there fastened, rode to the meeting-house, and after preaching, returned home and repeated the flogging, or released them, as his humour in the afternoon dictated. Although this was notorious to the whole surrounding country, I never heard him censured either by a preacher, or by any other person, but a few of the gospel fanatics, who could not discover any method to amalgamate torturing girls and preaching Christian love at the same time.

There was a church member of the same class. Mrs. H. used to boast that she was the best hand to whip "a wench" in all that country. She had a post in the yard to which she pinioned the girls, and after scourging them until she was tired, on the

Lord's-day morning, she then would sprinkle them with the usual mixture of salt, vinegar, &c., leave them fastened, exposed to the sun and flies, walk to the church, sit as demure as a popish nun, and after service repeat he faying or not, according to her whim. I once expostulated with her upon the impropriety and wickedness of this course. "Mrs. H., how can you possibly whip your girls so publicly on the Lord's-day morning, and disturb your neighbours going to public worship?" Her answer was a memorable specimen of slave-driving and slave-torturing Christianity. "If I were to whip them on any other day of the week, I might lose their work for a day; but by whipping them on Sunday, their backs get well enough by Monday morning!" That woman, if alive, is no doubt a member still.

STRENGTH OF PREJUDICE.

By MRS. CHILD.

The following account is a literal matter of fact. The names of persons and places are concealed by the editor, because she wishes to excite no angry feelings in attempting to show how many discouragements are thrown in the way of colored people who really desire to be respectable. The letters are copied from the originals, with merely a few alterations in the orthography of the last.

Mr. James E.— was a respectable colored man, residing at Massachusetts, in a certain town not far from Boston. He had been early impressed with the importance of religious subjects, and at twenty-six years of age made a public profession of his faith. He had a large family; and when they were all old enough to attend church, it was found difficult to accommodate them on the seats their parents had usually occupied. Mr. E.— was desirous of purchasing a pew which stood as it were by itself, being surrounded by the aisle and the stair-case. Some difficulty occurred because a widow had a right to one third; but this was finally arranged to the satisfaction of all parties. Mr. E.'s eldest son paid the purchase money, and received a deed of the pew. As soon as this became known, a

member of the church called upon Mr. E. and exhorted him not to injure the sale of the pew by occupying it. Mr. E. answered that it had been bought for the accommodation of his family, and they had no wish to sell it. The church brother answered, "Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall."

Private meetings were immediately held, which resulted in summoning Mr. E. to appear before the church, to give an account of his proceedings. Here he was accused of a wilful and flagrant outrage upon the church, and upon the society. In reply, he called their attention to the covenant by which each church member was bound to share the burdens of the church, and promised full enjoyment of all its privileges. He thought this gave any member a right to own a pew, provided he could honestly pay for one. As a citizen of a free country, he conceived that he had a right to purchase a pew; nor could he find anything in the whole tenor of the Bible opposed to it.

When requested to declare the price his son had paid for the pew, he declined answering. A committee was appointed, and the meeting adjourned.

This committee called on Mr. E. to

"labour with him," as they termed it. The Elder attempted to justify their proceedings by talking of a gradation in creation, from the highest seraph to the meanest insect. To support this doctrine, he quoted from the fifteenth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians: "All flesh is not the same flesh; but there is one kind of flesh of men, another flesh of beasts, another of fishes, and another of birds. There are also celestial bodies, and bodies terrestrial; but the glory of the celestial is one, and the glory of the terrestrial is another. There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars; for one star differeth from another star in glory."

The Elder said this difference of flesh was visible among people of different features and complexions. In answer to these remarks, Mr. E. reminded him that, in the verses he had quoted, the apostle expressly says, "There is one kind of flesh of men;" the difference alluded to was between the flesh of men and the flesh of beasts. He added that God had distinctly declared, "He made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth."

The committee easily perceived that the Elder's scriptural arguments were feeble. They said a good deal about the advantages of peace and harmony in the church, and earnestly desired that the pew might be given up. One gentleman declared that it was his opinion that Mr. E. had as good a right to own a pew as any other individual in the community, but if he would of his own free will relinquish the possession of it, for the sake of peace, it would be a very acceptable service. If all had spoken with equal mildness and candor, the affair would probably have been easily settled; but bitter and contemptuous words are not the best means of persuading a man to relinquish his own rights, for the convenience or pleasure of others.

The Elder declared that he had exerted his utmost influence to restore order and tranquillity. When asked if he had tried to induce the son to give up his claims to the pew he had purchased, he answered, "No; if I cannot persuade professors of religion to do right, I cannot expect to gain anything with world's people; and I will do nothing about it."

Another meeting was soon after held; Mr. E. and his son attended, and, for the first time, took their seats in the pew. The same arguments were made use of, concerning a gradation in creation from things superior to things most inferior; and these arguments were met by similar replies. The question was put to vote whether Mr. E. should be allowed to sit in the pew; and it was unanimously decided that the church were unwilling to allow him that privilege.

A larger committee was appointed, and the meeting adjourned.

On the next Sabbath, Mr. E. and his son took their seats in the pew. In the afternoon, the Elder took his text from the eleventh chapter of Ecclesiastes: "Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth, and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thine heart, and in the sight of thine eyes: but know thou that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment." During his discourse, the speaker was very much excited.

The next Sunday the pew was found covered with tar, and a part of the seats torn down.

On the third Sunday, a cord was observed suspended from the gallery; on examination it was found that a jug of filthy water was tied to it, and so arranged as to empty itself upon whoever touched the line in entering the pew. The remainder of the seats and the walls were soon after torn down, and thrown into an adjoining pasture. A temporary seat answered the purposes of the family for a while; but in a short time this was demolished, and the platform itself torn up, leaving a hole about two feet square.

The son of Mr. E. related these facts to the Editor, and added very drily: "When the cold weather came on, this proved a serious inconvenience to the whole congregation; but they bore it for some time with Christian fortitude." Another church meeting was called, and an attempt made to prove that Mr. E. had been guilty of dissimulation in his manner of obtaining the pew. It was stated that he had induced the widow to sell her share, by telling her he had already given her son-in-law security for the price, and that the deed was made out. In reply, Mr. E. urged that he had told the widow the bargain was all completed, and waited only for her consent; and when she asked if he had paid for it, he answered he had given his word for the money, which was as good security as his bond. He wished to prove this statement by witness, but the church declined to admit his evidence. A lawyer, who was present, said if any man passed his word before witnesses, it was good for one year; and therefore, he conceived that Mr. E. had made himself responsible for the payment of the pew, to all intents and purposes. The majority were, however, decidedly in favor of withdrawing the right hand of fellowship from their colored brother, on the ground that he had practised deceit in saying he had given security for the purchase. He was accordingly excommunicated. The Church denied any co-operation in the destruction of the pew. Mr. E. told them he knew nothing about that, but he thought they had in their proceedings manifested a similar spirit. Since

they were unwilling to listen to the evidence he could bring, he asked to have the question of dissimulation fairly tried before impartial referees. But the Elder said that was unnecessary; and he closed by reminding the culprit that he would have avoided the punishment, if he had but followed his direction in the beginning. Yet had he done as was required of him, the charge of deceit in the purchase of the pew must have had precisely the same degree of truth it had under other circumstances.

Mrs. E. laid the case before ex-parte counsel, was acquitted of the charge brought against him, and received a commendation to other churches. The family no longer attended at the meeting-house where their property had been so wantonly destroyed. After some time, Mrs. E. received the following letter:

"Mrs. S—— E——:

"The church, of which you have been a member, have to regret that they are compelled to say to you, that in their opinion, your reasons for being so long time absent from the communion are not sufficient to justify you; and according to our covenant obligations, we must withdraw from you the hand of fellowship, and consider you no longer as a member of the church. We hope you will consider the solemn covenant obligations you once took upon yourself, and return to your heavenly Father, and to the church, who would gladly again restore you to your former privilege in the church.

"By order and in behalf of the — church in S——.

"J—— T——, Clerk."

Mrs. E. replied as follows:

"To the — church in S——:

"I received your committee with marked respect, and agreeable to request, gave my mind on the subject of my former connexion with you. After you had bound yourself by a covenant obligation, in the presence of God, angels, and men, that we should mutually enjoy all the privileges of the church, you brought a groundless allegation against my husband, of dissimulation in attempting to purchase a pew. Elder —, who was at that time our minister, under the influence of a blind, infatuated zeal, used all his influence against the right cause. Instead of being as "wise as a serpent, and harmless as a dove," he was as venomous as a serpent, to the everlasting shame and disgrace of his profession. He, with a few others, urged my husband to give up the pew my son had bought, upon the plea that it was

not customary for colored people to have a pew on the floor of the meeting-house. They said the difficulty would all be settled if he would give it up; and finding they could not obtain this, they called a church-meeting, and set him aside.

"I have ever been dissatisfied with the treatment my husband received. It seemed to me unreasonable, unchristian, dishonest, and hypocritical—contrary to every principle of justice and humanity, and to our Saviour's golden rule, 'Do ye unto others whatsoever ye would they should do unto you.' I ask, what man among you would like to be turned out of the church, merely because his son bought a pew? Who cannot see that the real difficulty was on account of a black man's owning a pew, and that the charge of dissimulation was forged out?

"As it respects features and shades of complexion, God has said, that 'He made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth.' He declares that 'He is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him.' What right, then, has one part of creation to usurp dominion over the other part, merely because they are a little whiter? (and not much neither.) The Bill of Rights declares that all men are born equal, and endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Nothing is said concerning color, whether it be white, red, black, or yellow.

"If a citizen buy a pew in a house dedicated to God, what right have Christians and sinners, with the Elder at their head, to join together in lording it over God's heritage, and declare by vote that they are not willing people should enjoy their property, in this land of gospel light and liberty? Does this seem like "sitting together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus?" Is this letting love be without dissimulation? Be assured, the only way to be accepted with God is to keep his commandments; and he requires us to love him supremely, and our neighbour as ourselves.

"By the grace of God, I am determined to walk worthy of the vocation whereunto I have been called. I am far advanced in life, and the time of my departure is at hand. It is a consolation to me that I have no personal animosity against your church. I ever cherish a spirit of forgiveness; but I cannot remain in fellowship with any church or people, who make a distinction on account of complexion."

LOTTERY.

The American newspapers are full of advertisements which outrage humanity and set common decency at defiance. The following speaks for itself. The price fixed upon the girl Matilda sufficiently bespeaks the purpose of her owner. When will Christian men and Christian ministers cease to countenance a system which, based on villany, pampers all the vilest passions of the human heart?

The United States Gazette has the fol-

lowing:—"There is a lottery in Tennessee which has some of the most curious, if not the most brilliant prizes, that we ever saw crowded into a scheme. For example: One brick house, and one steam-boat; NEGRO GIRL REBECCA! and several mares; bay colt by Pacific, and YELLOW GIRL MATILDA!! The bay colt is valued at two hundred, and the yellow girl at ELEVEN HUNDRED DOLLARS!

SLAVE ADVERTISEMENTS.

The Charlestown Courier of Feb. 12, 1835, contains advertisements of fourteen hundred and eighty-six slaves for sale. The following is one of the lots, so advertised, to which we invite the attention of the *Independents* of this country.

Field Negroes.

By THOMAS N. GADSDEN.

On Tuesday, the 17th inst., will be sold at the north of the Exchange, at 11 o'clock,

A prime Gang of Ten Negroes,
Accustomed to the culture of Cotton and

Provisions, belonging to the Independent church, in Christ Church parish. [*Church property!*]

Conditions—One-third cash, balance in one and two years, secured by bond bearing interest from date, and a mortgage of the property, (!) and personal security.

N. B. The above negroes may be treated for at private sale, on application to John White, or to Thomas Hamlin, in the parish.
—Feb. 6.

REMEMBER THE SLAVE.

By MRS. CHILD.

MOTHER! when around your child
You clasp your arms in love,
And when with grateful joy you raise
Your eyes to God above;—

Think of the negro mother, when
Her child is torn away,
Sold for a little slave,—oh, then
For the poor mother pray!

Father! whene'er your happy boys
You look upon with pride,
And pray to see them, when you're old
All blooming by your side;—

Think of that father's withered heart,
The father of a slave,
Who asks a pitying God to give
His little son a grave.

Brothers and sisters! who with joy
Meet round the social hearth,
And talk of home and happy days,
And laugh in careless mirth;—

Remember, too, the poor young slave
Who never felt your joy;
Who, early old, has never known
The bliss to be a boy.

Ye Christians! ministers of him
Who came to make men free,
When at the Almighty Maker's throne
You bend the suppliant knee;—

From the deep fountains of your soul
Then let your prayers ascend
For the poor slave, who hardly knows
That God is still his friend.

Let all who know that God is just,
That Jesus came to save,
Unite in the most holy cause,
Of the forsaken slave.

Slavery in America.

No. IV.—OCTOBER, 1836.

WHAT CAN BRITISH CHRISTIANS DO TOWARDS THE EXTINCTION OF AMERICAN SLAVERY?

This is a question asked almost every day, from a vast variety of characters, and from an equal variety of motives. It is asked by the indolent, as an apology for his indifference. It is asked by the selfish, because it has no direct bearing upon his interest. It is asked by the timid, who shakes at the very idea of national convulsion. It is asked by the quiescent lovers of things as they are, because all changes are attended with noise and strife; and they are such lovers of peace that they must have it at any price. Not only all these classes but will deery slavery as a detestable condition of society, will clothe its abominations in fearful and appalling language, will lament over it with unaffected sorrow, and pray for its removal with all apparent sincerity. But then they say, 'We have no direct interest in the matter. The Americans are not amenable to us, nor are we responsible for them. It is a national sin; and its removal must be effected by efforts of their own.' They are too jealous of British interference to submit to any measures which we may suggest; and it is in vain to suggest what we have no power to carry into effect! This, we are persuaded, is a feeling which pervades a large class of Christians in this country, who thus quiet their consciences, and rock themselves into a repose as disreputable to their Christian profession as it is unkind to their suffering fellow-creatures.

It is surely not for a Briton, much less for a British Christian, in this advanced age of the world, to ask, "Who is my neighbour?" and because the waters of an ocean separate, and the objects of sin and wretchedness have none of the claims of locality, or civil or national affinity, to suppose that therefore we may be allowed to pass by on the other side. The world is the Christian's field: the religion he professes is essentially diffusive and aggressive; and furnishes both the reason and the motive for every mode of interference, whenever it can reform the errors or mitigate the wretchedness of any portion of the human family. But besides this general reason, the inhabitants of the western continent sustain a relation towards us from which especial obligations arise. They are our own brethren—in a great

degree the children of our own ancestors—speaking the same language—professors of the same religion—looking to the same oracles as the rule of faith and practice; and, in estimating the extent of our various denominations throughout the world, are reckoned as a part of ourselves. And is it nothing to us that a great number of our own churches, and whole associations of churches, are guilty of that essence of abominations, the crime of holding their fellow-creatures in hopeless bondage—of demanding from them unrequited labour—of forcibly excluding them from all access to education and knowledge—of dissolving at pleasure the dearest social ties—and of expatriating them where human life is speedily worn away by excessive toil and hardship? Is this the condition of any part of the world, and especially is it practised by any calling themselves Christians; and shall a British Christian have nothing to do with such a state of things? Shall two and a half millions of our hapless fellow-creatures, thousands of whom are members of our churches, and whom we expect to meet in a better world, extend to us their imploring cries and prayers by every breeze that comes across the Atlantic; and shall we curtain ourselves round in indifference, because the objects of misery are far away, and are the subjects of another government in another continent of the earth?

But the question returns, “What can *we* do in this distant land to compel the oppressor to release his prey, or to mitigate the woes of the oppressed?” We are not called upon to *compel* him to do any thing; nor are we allowed to attempt it, even if we had the power: but, though we cannot compel, is there nothing that we can do to induce him voluntarily to abandon a practice as injurious to the oppressor as it is cruel to the oppressed? If we can do nothing else, surely

We can pray for him: and is this nothing? The God to whom we address ourselves in this land of freedom is the God of the slave-holder as well as the slave; and in his hand are the hearts of all men. Though we cannot send an army of soldiers to rescue the captive, we can send a host of prayers to heaven on his behalf: though our arguments and remonstrances may fall heedless on the interested and callous ear of the tyrant, yet is that ear and that heart supple as the potter’s clay in the hand of Him to whom our prayer is addressed. The devoted band of philanthropists in the western world, who are compassing by every means the welfare of the slave, make the cause they have espoused an object of zealous and unintermitted prayer. Their Committee meetings are invariably begun and closed by prayer: the last Monday evening in every month is specially devoted to this purpose, and that with as much regularity and interest as the first in the month is assigned to Missionary objects. And who can calculate the power of a nation’s prayer—the prayer of faith, of confidence, of hope?

Perhaps it may be too much to expect that churches in general in this country should set apart a specific evening in each month for this single object, but surely it ought to be specially remembered at our Missionary prayer-meetings. Let the church member or the minister who conducts these services carry himself in imagination to the countries where slavery

spreads its pestilential breath—let him realize its demonizing influence over the master, as well as its degradation and cruelty towards the slave, and surely a scene more adapted to call forth his ardent supplication could not well be pictured before him. When we remember, particularly in the southern states, how deeply inwrought this horrid system is into the feelings and habits of the people—how it has grown with their growth, and strengthened with their strength—how it is fortified by their laws, and supported by their prejudices and interests, it is too much to expect that human legislators, acting under the impulse of interest, and swayed by motives of political expediency, should ever be induced to compass its downfall. It is fairly handed over to the omnipotent energy of the church; and, even in its hand, would utterly fail of success, were there not a mightier power—a power which can with perfect ease subdue the heart of an oppressor, or a nation of oppressors—were not this power at the call of the church, and engaged to succeed its benevolent designs. If we have any faith in the efficacy of prayer; if there be any truth in the scriptural assurance that “the fervent prayer of the righteous availeth much;” if the exciting a spirit of prayer is ordinately the first step in the arrangements of providence for securing an object of desire, then let every Christian in this land band himself with his fellow-workers on the other side of the Atlantic, and cease not day nor night, until the Lord shall hear the cry of the oppressed, and “shall send them a Saviour, and deliver them.”

Again: if we look at what may be considered the indirect influence of prayer—its natural effect upon the minds of those for whom it is presented—we have another motive for the earnest and persevering discharge of this duty. It is scarcely possible to conceive of a people so bereft of sensibility, so incased and hardened in transgression, that were they to see a whole nation presenting petitions to the throne of grace on their behalf, imploring that their eyes may be opened to the wrong of their doings, without occasionally at least looking within and asking themselves, ‘Is it all right? Is there no cause for this? Is there nothing fearful in beholding a whole Christian people invoking Omnipotence against my practices and purpose of life? Should I not at least examine the matter more carefully than I have done, and see whether interest may not have blinded my judgment, or prejudice perverted my understanding?’ Could we, in the first instance, only secure this disposition to self-inquiry, this comparison of practice with the testimony of God in his word, this scrutiny at the bar of conscience before appearing at a more solemn and awful tribunal, a great point would be gained, a breach would be made in the citadel of darkness and prejudice from which the most favourable results might be anticipated. If it be true that Christians are never so near to each other in sentiment and feeling as when upon their knees, then surely the most potent way to reclaim an erring brother, to induce the tenderness favourable to conviction, and the resolve to banish what cannot be defended, is to prostrate with him, or in his behalf, at the footstool of that God of mercy and of power who can change the heart of the

oppressor, and, “deliver the poor and needy, and rid them out of the hand of the wicked.” Let, then, every Christian in his closet, in his family, in the social circle, in the church, make this a distinct item in his addresses to the throne of grace; let our ministers apportion a part of every prayer to the same object; and then we may feel assured, that in so righteous and godlike a cause, what we are so constant and importunate in imploring will not very long be delayed.

There are several other methods in which British Christians may effectively aid the efforts that are making for the good of our fellow-creatures still held in unrighteous bondage, which will be pointed out in a future number of this work.

BRIEF NOTICES OF THE PROGRESS OF THE CAUSE OF ABOLITION IN THE UNITED STATES.—No. IV.

THE discovery of the western world, and its colonization by the nations of Europe, have been accompanied by numberless horrors, from the contemplation of which the benevolent mind turns away disgusted and appalled. The Indian nations, once the sole masters of the vast continents of America, have melted away before the presence of the white man, who, after having destroyed them by millions, has seized their ancient heritage, and, by acts as cruel as they were treacherous, has made it his own. Not content, however, with having subjugated or destroyed the original proprietors of the soil, he has torn millions of the human family from Africa to be his slaves. It may be truly said that the white man's empire in the new world has been founded and sustained by robbery and blood. The remnants of the Indian and negro races in the United States of America are comparatively small. The former have been doomed to extermination, or have been driven into the far wilderness. The latter are held, with few exceptions, in inexorable bondage. The great mass of slaves, however, are of a mixed race, native-born Americans, having the blood of their oppressors flowing in their veins. By the laws of the slave-states slavery is declared to be hereditary and perpetual—the labor of the slave is compulsory and uncompensated—the slave, being considered a personal chattel, may be sold, or pledged, or leased, at the will of his master—he can make no contract, and has no legal right to any property, real or personal—he cannot be a witness against any white man in any court of justice, however atrocious his crimes—he may be punished at his master's discretion, for any offence or for no offence—he is not allowed to resist any free man under any circumstances—he is not permitted to redeem himself, or to change masters—he is entirely unprotected in his domestic relations—the laws greatly obstruct his manumission—and tend to deprive him altogether of religious instruction and consolation. The whole power of the laws is, in fact, exerted to keep him in a state of the lowest ignorance and debasement. These are the characteristics of American slavery; and out of this monstrous state of things has arisen the most intolerable system of oppression that ever disgraced and afflicted mankind. But are there no responsibilities connected with the origin and perpetuation of this enormous evil? More than 300 years have passed since the first cargo of

Africans was landed in America. The oppression of centuries has, therefore, to be answered for. The blood of millions, slain in the wars which slavery has fomented, which have been destroyed in their transit across burning deserts, which have perished during the middle passage, which have died under the lash of the driver, or which have been prematurely swept from existence by murderous labors and by dreadful privations, crieth for retribution. The originators of the crime have gone to their account. The perpetrators of the crime are still in existence, and upon them a fearful amount of responsibility has been accumulated, and is constantly increasing. But are there none implicated in the continuance of the crime besides those already specified? Yes; those are partakers of other men's sins who justify them, who find excuses for them, who palliate them, who connive at them. They who take sides with the oppressor voluntarily share his responsibility. Nay, more; they who refuse to plead the cause of the oppressed, to assert his right, and to use every legitimate means for his deliverance, incur much guilt. In all that constitutes the sum of human happiness men have a community of interests and obligations. No man can, therefore, be indifferent to the welfare of his fellow-man without contravening the great law of his nature, and bringing upon himself, if not immediately, yet ultimately, the most serious evils. "Am I my brother's keeper?" was the language of the first murderer; and it is not too much to say that those who can hear of the outrage which slavery commits on the dearest rights and holiest feelings of human nature without sympathy for the sufferers, and, where it can be done, without remonstrance at least with their oppressors, fails in his duty. But if as members of the human family men are bound to this course of action, much more so as Christians. Slavery is one of the greatest obstructions to the general diffusion of the gospel. In the British colonies, and in the United States of America, it has been found that slavery and Christianity cannot co-exist. If there were no other reason, therefore, than this, why they should seek its overthrow, it would be sufficient. But there are other and cogent reasons, arising out of the condition of the slave, and the impossibility of his relieving himself from the iron grasp of power. To "remember them that are in bonds as bound with them," is a sacred duty; and the appeal of the Christian philanthropists of America to their brethren in this country, is grounded upon it. That appeal will be heard and answered.

The American Anti-Slavery Society held its third anniversary in the city of New York, on the 10th of May last. Its admirable report contains a summary of the events which have transpired during the third year of its existence—some of them the most painful, and others of the most gratifying nature. Of the former class the violation of the mail, and the destruction of the abolition newspapers and pamphlets at Charleston, South Carolina—the application of Lynch Law in several of the slave states—the destruction of the school for coloured persons at Canaan—the mobs at Boston and Utica—the attempts of Congress to muzzle the press, and to prevent free discussion—and especially the attempt to fetter the right of petition, in reference to slavery in the district of Columbia. Of the latter class, the rapid growth of Anti-Slavery Societies and the astonishing success which have attended the well-directed and energetic measures of the parent institution. The number of societies known to exist, at the time of its anniversary, was 523, being an increase in the course of the year of 323! The amount of increase in its funds was 15,311 dollars; and the pledge given at its previous anniversary, to raise 30,000 dollars for its current expenditure during the year, was nobly redeemed. With these funds the committee

have been enabled to keep in the field a number of agents, and to publish and extensively diffuse a variety of anti-slavery periodicals, pamphlets, and larger works, viz. :—

PUBLICATIONS.

Published Monthly	{	Human Rights, about 20,000 per month.	Total	240,000
		Anti-Slavery Record, 25,000	"	385,000
		Emancipator, 15,000	"	210,000
		Slave's Friend, 15,000!	"	205,000
Quarterly		Anti-Slavery Magazine	-	5,500
Bound Volumes	{	Life of Granville Sharpe	-	2,000
		Anti-Slavery Record, vol. 1.	-	1,000
		Mrs. Child's Appeal	-	1,000
		Slave's Friend, vol. 1.	-	1,000
				5,000
Occasional Pamphlets	-	-	-	8,500
Circulars, Prints, &c.	-	-	-	36,800

Total number of impressions 1,095,800

This amount is exclusive of publications of other societies and individuals, which have been purchased and disseminated by this society. It will be seen, by a comparison with the last report, that the issues of publication this year have been *nine* times as great as those of last year, at only about *five* times the expense.

In the course of the year the following gentlemen were employed for longer or shorter periods, as agents or lecturers : Messrs. A. A. Phelps, Thomas Huntington, George Storrs, Theodore D. Weld, Henry B. Stanton, Samuel L. Gould, Augustus Wattles, James A. Thome, Huntington Lyman, J. W. Alvord, Wm. T. Allan, Sereno W. Streeter, and Charles C. Burleigh. Mr. Weld has been chiefly supported by the N. Y. City Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society. Wm. Goodell has also been employed for a part of his time in lecturing and writing for the periodicals. They have truly "cried aloud and spared not," and their success amidst reproaches, mobs, and hostile missiles of all descriptions, has inspired the Society with the strongest desire to increase their number.

These gigantic efforts are to be increased. Previously to the Society breaking up its deliberations, its representatives voted 50,000 dollars to the sacred cause in which it is engaged during the present year. This sum was subsequently raised to 100,000 dollars, and it is resolved, if possible, to have fifty agents in the field!

Let Mammon hold while Mammon can,
The bones and blood of living man;
Let tyrants scorn while tyrants dare,
The shrieks and writhings of despair:
The end will come, it will not wait;
Bonds, yokes, and scourges have their date.
Slavery itself must pass away,
And be a tale of yesterday.

EAST INDIA SLAVERY.

SIR,

I *BEG* your attention to the subject of Slavery in India; because, hitherto, it has escaped the notice of the British public. India and Europe are widely separated from each other by natural causes, and they have been still more

widely separated by the commission of a great political crime or blunder—the monopoly of intercourse. In the year 1792, British manufacturers succeeded in obtaining permission to send their wares to India on board the ships of the East India Company; and in the year 1813, British merchants were licensed to trade with India; then the voice of the nation obtained licenses for missionaries to proceed to India. At length, in 1833, British India was opened to British-born subjects: since then they may travel about India without passports, and they may hold land for a term of years; but then they have lost the more valuable civil right of trial by jury, and they still continue subject to be deported at the will of the Governor.

The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, fortified their factories in India, and seized upon territories which now compose an extensive empire. Unquestionably this empire has been acquired by force and by fraud. The immediate government of India is continued in the hands of the proprietors of India stock; that is, it is committed to such ladies and gentlemen as choose to send down to the Stock Exchange, and buy a bit of India stock. Four and twenty of these proprietors of £2,000 of India stock govern India. Thus, the government is based upon a mercenary principle, and it is conducted as quietly as possible.

As far as I am aware, the first public notice of the subject of slavery in India was in the year 1828, when Mr. Buxton caused the House of Commons to publish a folio volume of about nine hundred pages, under the title of “Slavery in India.” This big book treats the subject much in the same manner as the planter magistrates and senators of Jamaica might be expected to report on negro slavery, if the House of Commons called on them to exhibit its nature. The late Mr. Pringle told me that he had waded through the book, but could not make out anything from it; also, that he had advised the Rev. Mr. Peggs to form an abstract of it; and that even that publication does not exhibit the actual state of slavery in India, so as to attract the attention of the public to it. Mr. Pringle repeatedly objected to bring forward the subject of slavery in India, on the ground that it would interfere with the abolition of negro slavery in the West Indies. The Rev. Mr. Ivimey readily permitted the subject to be brought forward at Eagle-street; but immediately afterwards Mr. Thorowgood stepped forward and denounced the speaker as an enemy to the cause of abolition. For my own part, I still continue to regret that the Anti-Slavery Society did not face the whole evil of slavery throughout the British dominions, and abolish it at one blow.

Towards the close of the session of 1832, the select committee appointed to inquire into the affairs of the East India Company, examined Sir Alexander Johnstone; and, in the course of his examination, the subject of slavery in India, and the volume printed in 1828, were brought to the notice of Mr. Grant, who followed up the inquiry by addressing a circular letter from the Board of Control, inclosing queries to several officers whom it was expected would be able to give information on the subject. The House of Commons has twice printed the documents elicited in answer to this inquiry, namely, in the year 1832, and again in the year 1834.

The most interesting documents in the volume of 1828 are those of Mr. Baber, who in the session of 1830 gave evidence before a committee of the House of Lords concerning the degraded condition of the slaves in Canara and Malabar. Mr. Baber also replied most fully to the queries of the Board of Control; however, his paper is an elaborate disquisition abounding with technicalities, and

therefore not calculated to give a popular view of the subject. Mr. Baber incurred the expense of printing it, and circulated it gratuitously. He is now in India, the senior member of the Company's civil establishment at Bombay, but not a member of their council at that presidency; had he cared less for the slaves of India than he has done throughout life, it is most probable that he would have had a seat in council long since. He always has been the unflinching advocate of the slave in India; and what is more, he has been their only friend and champion; had it not been for him, even the government in India would scarcely have known the horrible extent and the atrocious nature of slavery in India; he alone has set his face against the crime, and steadily denounced it in the reluctant ear of a mercenary and despotic government.

Next to Mr. Baber, Mr. A. D. Campbell, of the Madras civil service, deserves mention as having done his duty in exposing the foul blot of slavery in India. His labours have not involved him with the government, but he has steadily sought to exhibit the actual state of slavery in India to his superiors, both in India and in England.

The result of Mr. Grant's inquiry into the subject of slavery in India was so decisive, that in the Bill which he introduced into the House of Commons, in 1833, one clause provided that slavery should cease throughout India on a fixed day,—I think in April, 1834. The House of Commons modified this clause, but the House of Lords did worse than expunge it, for they bound the government in India from legislating on the subject without the previous sanction of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, that is, the non-resident proprietors of the slaves of India.

After due inquiry, his Majesty's Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, introduced a Bill for the immediate abolition of slavery in India; but the East India Company opposed them, and rivetted the fetters of their slaves by Act of Parliament. However, his Majesty's Ministers for India affairs did not resign, but on the contrary, they applied to the Company for immense rewards. The elder Mr. Grant was a candidate for the Governor Generalship; Sir Robert Grant obtained the Government of Bombay; and their Secretary proceeded to India, where he now enjoys a salary of £10,000 per annum. Surely slavery in India is not to be left in the hands of ministers who thus seem to blow hot or cold just as suits them.

When Napoleon I. returned from Elba, and alighted at the Thuilleries, he proclaimed himself an abolitionist. Much in this spirit, when Lord Ellenborough returned to preside over the India Board, during the first hundred days in the year 1835, he took up the popular subject of slavery in India; and I have no doubt that for the sake of holding office he would have conceded some measure of emancipation to the slaves of India; however, he soon gave place to Sir John Hobhouse, whose recent reply to Mr. Buxton on the subject of slavery in India, will rouse the nation to the subject, if any human voice can possibly rouse the nation to any sense of feeling for the wrongs which Britain still continues to inflict upon the people of India; especially, seeing that Mr. Robert Gordon, member for Criehlade, and a secretary of the India Board, is himself a West India proprietor; whilst Sir Charles Cockerill, a commissioner for the affairs of India, is perhaps little, if any, better. In fact, the slaves in India have nothing whatever to hope from the public in India, for each individual there is subject to instant transportation; and they have nothing to hope from the tender mercies of the governing authorities of India, either in India or in England; their only hope of amelioration and of emancipation rests upon

the justice of the God of nations, who, having inspired the people of Britain with pity for the poor enslaved children of Africa, will, I trust, extend the same holy influence in behalf of the slaves of India.

In the West Indies, the line which separated the slave from the free was well defined ; but in India there is every gradation of slavery and of servitude, from that of the slave seized and sold by auction by the government, on account of arrears of rent owing by his proprietor, to that of the ryot who is compelled hereditarily to cultivate a rack-rented field for the benefit of the government. Negro slavery was a simple subject ; but slavery in India is a very complicated subject ; like negro slavery it begins with man-stealing and with slave trading ; but it does not end there, for the government of India encroaches as much as it possibly can upon the liberties and rights of those classes it cannot absolutely enslave, by bringing them to the hammer and transporting them from their native soil. In the West Indies, the slaves were constantly exposed to the view of Europeans ; but in the East Indies, the slaves are quite hid from Europeans ; and if a European went to India expressly to investigate the subject of slavery in India, he would meet with many insuperable difficulties, from the extent of India, the diversity of languages, the jealousy and the power of the government. At present, the only Europeans who are likely to know anything of the actual nature of slavery in India, are some few of the fiscals, and some few of the missionaries. The fiscals are the task-masters. One witness has truly stated that the slaves of Malabar are so totally degraded by slavery that they are below the reach of anything except Christianity, which alone can stoop down to them and elevate them. They certainly seem to be degraded below the lowest stage of savage life ; below the Hottentot, the Esquimaux, or the New Hollander.

Although the difficulties of comprehending and exposing the subject of slavery in India is in some points much greater than that of comprehending and exposing the horrors of negro slavery, yet there are facilities for the Abolitionist which Clarkson and Wilberforce did not possess ; for instance, Europe and America are convinced of the impolicy of slavery ; Christendom is alive to the subject ; and besides this, the point of attack is very accessible and very weak, you or any other individual in London, can, at your own convenience, step into the India House and talk to the chairman, the deputy chairman, and the secretary upon the subject ; these gentlemen are virtually the leviathan proprietors of all the slaves in India ; they are the government of India. If they will not hear reason and do justice, then the crown is equally accessible at the office of the India Board. But a meeting in Exeter Hall, or even in Eagle Street, or Devonshire Square, or Finsbury Chapel, would resound through Leadenhall and Whitehall. But the Indian task-master will not show face ; he is a cunning animal, and will trust more to fraud than to force ; when closely urged to it, he will pen despatches to India to your own heart's content, directing the immediate emancipation of every slave and of every bondman ; being fully aware that the despatch will not be regarded, and that seven years must elapse before the fraud can be discovered.

More than a million of slaves and millions of bondsmen in India cry continually, "Come over and help us !" This distant cry requires only to be echoed by those few who hear it, and it will alarm and arouse Britain. I believe that the long contest about the slave trade has done more in eliciting the energies of the House of Commons, and in disciplining the political strength of the people of Britain, than anything else ; and I doubt not that slavery in India can be made

equally productive of great national blessings by him who governeth all things, even the councils of princes.

The small island of Ceylon, not being included in the government of India, requires separate notice ; it contains above twenty thousand predial slaves, who, I believe, have been the victims of unsuccessful experiments of the Colonial Legislature about registration, &c. They are in the power of Lord Glenelg, even as far as immediate emancipation. My impression is, that, speaking in a very general way, in Ceylon, lands cultivated by free labor pay a land-tax of one-tenth of their produce, whilst in those districts where the proprietor is enabled to enslave the labourer, he pays the government one-fourth of their produce. The cinnamon-peelers, claya-root-diggers, clank-shell-divers, &c., of Ceylon are not accounted slaves, but certainly they are not treated as free-people.

Convinced that the sole object of your very interesting little periodical is to glorify God by abolishing slavery throughout the world, I apologize only for my ignorance of the subject I wish to bring forward, and conclude by saying that, from all I have been able to see and learn of slavery in both the Indies, slavery in India is more extensive and degrading than negro slavery.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Brighton.

PETER GORDON.

ADDRESS OF THE SYNOD OF KENTUCKY.

(Continued from p. 32.)

4. *This system licenses and produces great cruelty.* The law places the whip in the hands of the master ; and its use, provided he avoid destroying life, is limited only by his own pleasure. Considering the absolute power with which our people are armed, it must be acknowledged that the treatment of their dependants is, in general, singularly humane. Many circumstances operate here to mitigate the rigors of perpetual servitude ; and it is probably the fact, that no body of slaves have been ever better fed, better clothed, and less abused, than the slaves of Kentucky. Still they have no security for their comfort but the humanity and generosity of men, who have been trained to regard them, not as brethren, but as mere property. Humanity and generosity are, at best, poor guarantees for the protection of those who cannot assert their rights, and over whom law throws no protection. Our own condition we would feel to be wretched indeed, if no law secured us from the insults and maltreatment *even of our equals*. But superiority naturally begets contempt ; and contempt generates maltreatment, for checking which we can rely, not on virtue, but only on law. There are in our land hundreds of thousands clothed with arbitrary power over those whom they are educated to regard as their property, as the instruments of their will, as creatures beneath their sympathy, devoid of all the feelings which dignify humanity, and but one remove above cattle. Is it not certain that many of these hundreds of thousands will inflict outrages on their despised dependants ? There are now in our whole land two millions of human beings exposed, defenceless, to every insult and every injury short of maiming or death, which their fellow-men may choose to inflict. They suffer all that can be inflicted by wanton caprice, by grasping avarice, by brutal lust, by malignant

spite, and by insane anger. Their happiness is the sport of every whim, and the prey of every passion, that may occasionally or habitually infest the master's bosom. If we could calculate the amount of woe endured by ill-treated slaves, it would overwhelm every compassionate heart, it would move even the obdurate to sympathy. There is also a vast sum of suffering inflicted upon the slave by humane masters, as a punishment for that idleness and misconduct which slavery naturally produces. The ordinary motives to exertion in men are withdrawn from the slave. Some unnatural stimulus must then be substituted; and the whip presents itself as the readiest and most efficient. But the application of the whip to produce industry, is like the application of the galvanic fluid to produce muscular exertion. The effect is powerful indeed, but momentary; and if often applied, it is exhaustive and destructive to the system. It can never be used as a substitute for the healthful and agreeable nervous stimulus with which nature has supplied us. Equally vain is the attempt to supply by the whip the deficiency of natural motives to exertion; it produces misery and degradation. Yet, inadequate as is this substitute, it is the best that can be had; it must be used while the system lasts; the condition of the slave is unnatural, and his treatment must correspond to his condition. We are shocked to hear of epicures, who cause the animals on which they feast to be whipped to death, that their flesh may be more delicate and delicious to the taste. We feel it to be disgusting and intolerable cruelty, thus to inflict pain upon a beast, merely to satisfy the cravings of luxury; and shall we excuse ourselves, if a desire for ease or wealth leads us to sanction, sustain, and assist in perpetuating a system which, as long as it lasts, must lacerate the bodies and grind down the feelings of millions of rational and immortal beings?

Brutal stripes, and all the varied kinds of personal indignities, are not the only species of cruelty which slavery licenses. The law does not recognize the family relations of a slave, and extends to him no protection in the enjoyment of domestic endearments. The members of a slave family may be forcibly separated, so that they shall never more meet until the final judgment. And cupidity often induces the master to practise what the law allows. Brothers and sisters, parents and children, husbands and wives, are torn asunder, and permitted to see each other no more. These acts are daily occurring in the midst of us. The shrieks and the agony often witnessed on such occasions, proclaim with a trumpet tongue the iniquity and cruelty of our system. The cry of these sufferers goes up to the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. There is not a neighbourhood where these heart-rending scenes are not displayed. There is not a village or a road that does not behold the sad procession of manacled outcasts, whose chains and mournful countenances tell that they are exiled by force from all that their hearts held dear. Our church, years ago, raised its voice of solemn warning against this flagrant violation of every principle of mercy, justice, and humanity. Yet we blush to announce to you and to the world, that this warning has been often disregarded, even by those who hold to our communion. Cases have occurred in our own denomination, where professors of the religion of mercy have torn the mother from her children, and sent her into a merciless and returnless exile. Yet acts of discipline have rarely followed such conduct. Far be it from us to ascribe to our people generally a participation in these deeds, or a sympathy with them; they abhor and loathe them. But while the system of which these cruelties are the legitimate offspring, is tolerated among us, it is exceedingly difficult to inflict punishment upon their perpetrators. If we commence discipline for *any* acts which the laws of slavery sanction, where shall we stop? What principle is

there which will justify us in cutting off a twig or a branch of this poison tree, that will not, if carried fairly out, force us to proceed, and hew down its trunk, and dig up its roots? These cruelties are only the loathsome ulcers, which show corruption in the blood and rottenness in the bones of this system. They may be bound up and mollified with ointment—they may be hidden from the sight; but they cannot be entirely removed until there is a thorough renovation within. Our churches cannot be entirely pure, even from the grosser pollutions of slavery, *until we are willing to pledge ourselves to the destruction of the whole system.*

5. *It produces general licentiousness among the slaves.* Marriage, as a civil ordinance, they cannot enjoy. Our laws do not recognize this relation as existing among them; and, of course, do not enforce by any sanction the observance of its duties. Indeed, until slavery “waxeth old, and tendeth to decay,” there cannot be any legal recognition of the marriage rite, or the enforcement of the consequent duties. For all regulations on this subject would limit the master’s absolute right of property in his slaves. In his disposal of them, he would no longer be at liberty to consult merely his own interest. He could no longer separate the wife and husband to suit the convenience or interest of the purchaser, no matter how advantageous might be the terms offered. And as the wife and husband do not always belong to the same owner, and are not often wanted by the same purchaser, their duties to each other would thus, if enforced by law, frequently conflict with the interests of the master. Hence all the marriage that could ever be allowed to them, would be a mere contract voidable at the master’s pleasure. Their present *quasi* marriages are just such contracts, and are continually thus voided. They are, in this way, brought to consider the matrimonial engagement as a thing not binding, and they act accordingly. Thus the working of our system of slavery diffuses a moral pestilence among its subjects, tending to wither and blight every thing that is naturally beautiful and good in the character of man. Can this system be tolerated without sin?

6. *This system demoralizes the whites as well as the blacks.* The hand of one of our greatest statesmen has strikingly portrayed the demoralizing effects of this system on the minds and manners of the ruling class. “There must doubtless,” says Mr. Jefferson, “be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people, produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions—the most unrelenting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive, either in his philanthropy or his self-love, for restraining the intemperance of passion toward his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms; the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives loose to the worst of passions; and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances.”* Such, according to the testimony of one who had marked its operation with a philosopher’s eye, is the character which slavery forms—a character perfectly the reverse of that which the gospel require.

* Jefferson’s Notes on Virginia, p. 319.

7. *This system draws down upon us the vengeance of heaven.* "God is just," and "he will render to every one according to his works." Oppression can never escape unpunished, while He who hath emphatically declared, that he is the "Judge of the widow, and the father of the fatherless," is on the throne of the universe. "If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn to death, and those that are ready to be slain; if thou sayest, Behold, we know it not; doth not he that pondereth the heart consider it? and he that keepeth thy soul, doth he not know it? and shall he not render to every man according to his works?" Not a sparrow falls to the ground, we are told, without the notice of God—how much more doth he mark the abuse and oppression of a creature, who bears his own peculiar image? "The very hairs of our head are all numbered"—much more are the groanings of the oppressed and sighings of the prisoner recorded, by Him who says that his name is "*Gracious*," and that his "ear is ever open to the cry of the poor and needy." The blood of Abel did not soak into the ground unheeded; it called down judgment upon the guilty man who had smitten his brother, and it drove him out a wanderer from the land of his birth, a fugitive from the presence of the Lord. But the sore cry of millions of the down-trodden has gone up to heaven from the midst of us; this cry is still swelling upward; and if there be righteousness on the throne of the universe, it must bring down vials of wrath upon the heads of all who are engaged in this guilty work. And when he cometh to execute vengeance, "who may abide the day of his coming?" Who can stand before his indignation? Who can stand up in the fierceness of his anger? We see the truth of what the prophet declares, that "the Lord is slow to anger"—but we are assured that it is equally true, that he is "great in power, and will not at all acquit the wicked: the Lord hath his way in the whirlwind and in the storm, and the clouds are the dust of his feet."

Brethren, we profess to be Christians—we reverence the holy revelation which God has given—we look to its precepts for guidance, and to its denunciations for warnings. We know that the principles of the divine dealings are the same in every age; and that what God said to those of old, when we are in similar circumstances he saith unto us. Listen, then, to one of the many invitations he has given us of the way in which he will punish it. "The people of the land have used oppression, and exercised robbery, and have vexed the poor and needy; yea, they have oppressed the stranger wrongfully, and I sought for a man among them, that should stand in a gap before me for the land, that I should not destroy it: but I found none. Therefore have I poured out mine indignation upon them: I have consumed them with the fire of my wrath; their own way have I recompensed upon their heads, saith the Lord;" Ezek. xxii. 29—31. Can we despise the instructions of the Almighty? Shall we shut our eyes and close our ears against the admonitions of the Great Judge of the earth? Shall we not arise and "stand in the gap before him for the land, that he may not destroy it?" Though our "nest may be built on high," and "our defence be the munitions of rocks," we cannot escape if God rise up against us—He can blast our prosperity—He can drown us in blood—He can blot out our existence and our name from under heaven.

Let us remember, too, that not only as a people, but as individuals, God will deal with us. The day is soon coming; when every man's works which he hath wrought shall be tried as by fire—and we must then "eat of the fruits of our own ways."

MOB LAW.

MOB-LAW still prevails in America, the land of boasted freedom ; and its violence is directed against the most enlightened and philanthropic of her sons. The scenes enacted at New York and Boston have been repeated at Cincinnati, as the following account, taken from a New York paper, will show. Mr. Birney was formerly a slave-holder in Kentucky, and an advocate of colonization. But when the truth of God dawned upon his mind, he manumitted his slaves, renounced colonization, and entered with all his heart and soul and strength into the outlawed camp of the abolitionists. Driven by slave-holders from Kentucky, he established his residence at Cincinnati, where he conducted the *Philanthropist* Newspaper with singular intrepidity and talent. His object was truth, not gain ; and he has been cruelly rewarded by his deluded and misjudging countrymen. When will the false patriots of America awake to their country's disgrace, and assert the majesty of laws which are now recklessly trampled under foot ? The same violence which is now directed against the abolitionists, may hereafter be employed against any other party ; and it therefore becomes every lover of his country to prevent occurrences whose example is infectious, and the repetition of which must shake the foundations of the commonwealth.

Our remarks on the subject of the Cincinnati resolutions, recommending violence and riot, have received a most striking illustration. The guilty counsel has been followed, and Cincinnati has suffered a disgrace which years will not efface. We subjoin an account of the conduct of an organized mob, who took possession of that city on the 30th of July, overawed the civil authorities, committed the crimes of burglary and robbery in open daylight, gave to their triumph over the laws the pomp of a public celebration, by dragging their plunder in procession through the principal streets ; and, not content with these outrages on property, searched through the city, with an insatiate thirst of vengeance, for the persons of two of their fellow-citizens, on whom to wreak their brutal rage, and perhaps consummate their wickedness with the guilt of murder.

It was only when the fury of the multitude, in searching for one of its victims, seemed likely to endanger a building in which there were two banks, that the civil authorities thought proper to interfere. The disturbance of the peace was nothing—the act of breaking open the dwelling of a private individual was nothing—the plunder and destruction of his property was nothing—the hue and cry after his life was nothing ; but when the boards of a monied institution are in peril, the majesty of the laws wakes from its slumber, and interposes its shield ! Then the mayor, who had looked on quietly while all these outrages were committed, comes forth and tells the mob, in a “determined manner,” that he will order the police to shoot the first person who offers violence to the building. What a commentary on the depraved state of public feeling ! Human liberty and human life are neither respected by individuals nor shielded by the laws ; but the gold of the great monopolies which corrupt the people, is to be protected at every hazard. You may break open your neighbour's house if you will, and destroy his goods, and hunt him as the blood-hound hunts his prey ; you may do this with impunity, provided you respect the banks : but if you touch their

safety, you will be informed that you are going too far. It is for their benefit, and not for that of individuals, that laws are made, and ministers of the law appointed. Insensate! not to know that the anarchy you encourage, when it has reached its maturity, will disdain the lesser prey, and pounce upon the very treasures you so anxiously protect.

Mr. Birney, who was thus hunted by the Cincinnati mob, is well known in the western states as an eminent lawyer. He is a native of Kentucky, and is allied to the first families in that state and Virginia. Becoming more and more attached to the doctrines of the anti-slavery party, he abandoned a lucrative profession, and established in Cincinnati a paper called the *Philanthropist*, which has now been twice broken up by violence. He is a man of great ardour and resolution of character, and is not likely to give up his design but with his life. Those who, influenced by the fear of injury to the trade of Cincinnati with the South, have stirred up these riots to drive him from his purpose, will probably find that nothing short of murder will effect their object, and even in that frightful event nothing will be gained, for others equally ardent and enthusiastic will rise up in his place.

The following is an extract of a letter from a gentleman at Cincinnati, dated the 1st of August:—

“The storm has at length broke, and a row such as Cincinnati never before witnessed took place on Saturday night, July 30. It was given out that a mob might be expected that night, and accordingly a large concourse of people assembled at the Exchange, at six o'clock, P.M., when a president and secretary were appointed, and resolutions passed to go forthwith to Birney's office, and destroy the press, papers, &c. They accordingly marched to the corner of Main and Seventh streets, when they commenced operations by breaking and tearing everything to pieces in the second and third stories of the building, stove all the windows out, and scattered his (the editor's) papers and books in the street, and burned a great number of them.

“The next movement was to heave out the press, at which a most tremendous shout was raised; and, hitching a rope to it, they hauled it down Main-street to the river, broke it to pieces, and threw it to the bottom.

“They then raised the cry of ‘Birney! Birney!’* and immediately proceeded to his house, and demanded his presence. Whereupon his son, a youth of about seventeen, came and informed them, in a very affecting appeal, that his father was not at home, and begged them to respect his helpless family and private property. The crowd then began to cry out ‘Donaldson! away to Donaldson's!’† There they next proceeded, and swore that if he did not come out they would raze the house to its foundation.

“Mrs. Donaldson and daughter then came out and informed them that neither of the Messrs. Donaldson was at home—that they had both gone into the country that afternoon, and assured them that they were not in the house. This did not altogether satisfy them, and they had almost determined on searching the house, but were prevailed upon to desist by two or three of the leaders assuring them that they were not there. On which they left, and proceeded to Church-alley,‡ where a scene took place that baffles description. Two or three pistols were fired from one of the houses, which enraged them so much, that they went to work, and I may say that they completely ‘renovated’ that concern.

* Editor of the *Philanthropist*, a weekly paper.

† A merchant, who is also an abolitionist.

‡ Where were several houses of ill fame.

"They proceeded to several of the negro houses in Western-row, and tore them down; but I must stop with my description. Fears were entertained that some disturbance would take place last evening. A large mob collected around the Franklin House* on a supposition that Mr. Birney was there, but they were dispersed with some little trouble. The mayor made a speech, in a determined manner, and said he would order the police to shoot the first man who attempted to make any disturbance. Matters have become pretty still, and there will not probably be any more disturbance."

WORKING OF THE APPRENTICESHIP SYSTEM.

THE working of the apprenticeship system in our colonies, has fully justified the fears and predictions of the abolitionists. It has proved one of the most bungling and wretched pieces of legislation which human folly ever devised, and only serves to corroborate the general principle, that there is no safe or prudent medium between right and wrong. When slavery was acknowledged to be a crime, freedom—full, entire, and lasting, ought to have been instantly conceded. But instead of this, a miserable attempt was made to conciliate the despot at the expense of his victim, and the result has been what every honest and foresighted man predicted. We purpose in a future number entering somewhat largely into this matter. At present we must content ourselves with the following extract from a letter addressed by an estimable Missionary in Jamaica to the Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society in England.

"I see something is doing in England to shorten the Apprenticeship system. I pray God it may soon follow its predecessor—Slavery, for it is indeed slavery under a less disgusting name. Business lately (Dec. 23) called me to Rodney-hall; and while I was there, a poor old negro was brought in for punishment. I heard the fearful vociferation, 'Twenty stripes.' 'Very well, here Alexander Lowndes, put this man down.' I felt as I cannot describe: yet I thought, as the supervisor was disposed to be civil, my presence might tend to make the punishment less severe than it usually is—but I was disappointed—I inquired into the crime for which such an old man could be so severely punished, and heard various accounts. I wrote to the magistrate who sentenced him to receive it; and after many days I got the following reply.

"Logan Castle, Jun. 9, 1836.

"Sir,

"In answer to your note of the 4th inst., I beg leave to state, that Thomas Johnson, an apprentice belonging to Mount Pleasant, was brought before me by Mr. Evans, his late overseer, charged upon oath with continual neglect of duty and disobedience of orders as cattle-man, and also for *stealing milk*—was convicted, and sentenced to receive twenty stripes. May I add, that whatever reports may have been circulated, inconsistent or derogatory to what is here stated, can be contradicted by gentlemen who were present at the *holding of*

* Two of the City banks were in this building, part of which was occupied as a large boarding-house.

my court—in fact, so far from the punishment of the offender being *severe*, he was not ordered one-half the number of stripes provided for such cases by the Abolition Act—if he received more than that number, or if those were inflicted with *undue* severity, I shall feel happy in making every inquiry amongst the authorities at Rodney-hall Institution.

“I remain, Sir, yours truly,

“T. WATKINS JONES, S. M.’

“Rev. J. Clarke, &c., &c.”

“To which I replied as follows:—

“Sir,

“*Jericho, Jan. 19, 1836.*

“I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th inst., which reached me on the 18th, when I was about to address to you a second note under the impression that the first might not have reached your hand.

“Respecting the punishment of Thomas Johnson, I still adhere to the opinion I before expressed, that, for an old man of about 60 years of age, the punishment was *SEVERE*; and I think the best method of proving my opinion to be correct, is to give you a description of what took place; leaving you to determine whether the interference of W. Worger, Esq., of Rio Magno, who, I am told, is attorney for Mount Pleasant, was called for, and just, under such circumstances. To see a venerable old man tied as if to be broken on the wheel, and cut to the bone by the lash of an athletic driver—writhing and yelling under the most exquisite torture, were certainly circumstances sufficiently strong to touch the heart of any one possessed of the smallest degree of common humanity. The usual preparations being made, the old man quietly stripped off his upper garments, and lay down upon the board—he was then tied by the legs, middle, above the elbows, and at each wrist. Mr. Worger then called out to the driver, ‘I hope you will do your duty—he is not sent here for nothing.’ At the first lash the skin started up; and at the third, the blood began to flow; ere the driver had given ten, the cat was covered with gore; and he stopped to change it for a dry one, which appeared to me somewhat longer than the first; when the poor tortured creature had received sixteen, his violent struggles enabled him to get one of his hands loose, which he put instantly to his back—the driver stopped to retic him, and then proceeded to give the remaining four. The struggles of the poor old man from the first lash, bespoke the most extreme torture; and his cries were to me most distressing. ‘Oh! Oh! Mercy! Mercy! Mercy! Mercy! Oh! Massa! Massa! Dat enough—enough! Oh! Enough! O massa, have pity! O massa! Massa! Dat enough—enough! Oh, never do de like again—only pity me—forgive me dis once! Oh! Pity! Mercy! Mercy! Oh! Oh!’ were the cries he perpetually uttered. I shall remember them while I live; and would not for ten thousand worlds have been the cause of producing them. It was some minutes after the aged sufferer was loosed ere he could rise to his feet, and as he attempted to rise he continued calling out, ‘My back! Oh! My back! My back is broken.’ A long time he remained half-doubled, the blood flowing round his body; and at last, standing erect, he deliberately said, ‘I serve my master at all times; I get no Saturday, no Sunday; yet this is de way dem use me.’

“Now, Sir, I would appeal to you as to a gentleman possessed of humanity, and with the utmost respect make the following inquiries. Was this poor man convicted simply on the oath of his accuser? Or did witnesses prove the charges made against him? And, was the old man encouraged to speak by way

of vindication or mitigation of the charges made by his late overseer: again, would not the ends of justice be far better answered—would not the apprentices be far better fitted for being useful and cheerful labourers in 1840—and would not your conscience be likely to give you less painful accusation in the prospect of death and eternity, if, instead of so much flogging, you were to use the other remedies which the law admits for the punishment and prevention of misconduct?

“For many years I have endeavoured to promote the best interests of this colony; and in doing so, have avoided as much as possible every thing that could be construed into interference with matters aside from my sacred office as a minister of Christ; but to the calls of suffering humanity I feel it to be my duty to attend; and should I again have to address you on this or on similar subjects, or even should it become my painful duty to proceed further, by legal means, in such matters, I most sincerely assure you that no motive, except that arising from a sense of imperative duty, will ever influence my conduct.

“I remain, Sir, yours very respectfully,

“JOHN CLARKE.”

“T. Watkins Jones, Esq., Special Magistrate.”

BRADFORD REMONSTRANCE.

THE following spirited remonstrance was unanimously adopted at a Public Meeting of the inhabitants of Bradford in Yorkshire, held on the 6th of September. The resolutions which accompanied it will be found at page 95.

To such of the citizens of the United States of America as are now holding their fellow-creatures in personal bondage or slavery.

MEN and BRETHREN.—Connected as we are with America by many ties; descended from the same stock, speaking the same language, and, in general, professing the same faith, we trust it will not be deemed an unkind act, or an officious interference, if with fidelity and earnestness we remonstrate with you on the subject of negro slavery. We abhor slavery in every shape, and oppression under every form; and it has been, and shall be, our anxious endeavour to abolish every species of injustice and hardship from among ourselves.

Through the blessing of heaven, we have succeeded, after many and great efforts, in breaking to a great extent the fetters of slavery in the British colonies; but the joy we felt in this triumph of humanity and justice was succeeded by the depressing recollection, that in the United States, the nation from which we had reason to expect so different an example, the same unhappy children of oppression, whose only crime is the color of their skin, are still retained in cruel and degrading bonds.

Deplorable as slavery must be in every state and in all circumstances, there are two things which, in the eyes of all Europe, and of Britain in particular, give to this system in the United States a peculiar character of enormity. The one is, that a solemn declaration, in the face of the world, of the equal rights of all men to life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness, forms the very basis of your constitution, the superior liberty of which is the constant theme of all your writers, your orators, and your poets; while a sixth part of your whole population is held in a condition of brutal degradation, as goods and chattels belonging

to others. The other is, that while your efforts are so laudably great in spreading the knowledge of Christianity at home and abroad, you tolerate a system which violates, in the most flagrant manner, the essential principles of the religion of Christ.

CITIZENS OF AMERICA! We address you in sorrow, not in anger, when we say that this glaring inconsistency of yours does more to injure the cause of freedom in the world at large than all the efforts of despotism; that it furnishes a pretext and a plea to all who are hostile to the emancipation of the body or the mind. "Look," is the taunt we frequently hear, "look at America, and see what her boasted free institutions have done!"

PROFESSORS OF CHRISTIANITY! You give to irreligion an increase of prejudice, and to infidelity one of the most formidable objections to the religion which you profess. Can there, say they, be any reality in a religion, the principles and practice of whose most zealous professors are so contradictory? Or can that religion, asks the sceptic, be an emanation from a Being infinitely just and benevolent, the possession of which is compatible with a violation of every principle of equity, and may co-exist with the ruthless sacrifice of the dearest rights and best happiness of others to our own selfishness? We also deeply deplore the almost universal prejudice against people of color which exists among you, which is so wickedly carried even into the sanctuary of God. "Hath not the Almighty made of one blood all nations that dwell upon the face of the earth?"

While we deeply deplore the disastrous consequences of the present state of things, we feel cheered by the exertions which are so generously made by a gallant and increasing band of devoted men, in the face of prejudice and persecution, to put a stop to this crying evil. We cannot but regard them as the best friends to America, the real benefactors to their beloved country and to the world at large. Allow us to entreat you to repress the force of passion and the power of prejudice, and to meet them in the field of fair discussion; to permit in your own hearts the charities of our nature free play, and Christian principle its full operation; to reduce to practice, in this case, that maxim of our Lord—"Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them;" and we are fully persuaded that you will feel convinced that justice, humanity, consistency, religion, all unite in calling on you to adopt prompt and immediate measures, "to undo the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke."

(Signed) G. S. BULL, Chairman.

STATE OF SOCIETY IN THE ISLAND OF ANTIGUA, THE EFFECT OF COMPLETE EMANCIPATION.

Extract of a Letter, dated July 4th, 1836.

"Sunday is better kept here than in any part of England that I have witnessed; it is a day of rest: we do not require a sabbath-protection Society; no shops are open, no noise in the streets, but the paths in town and country covered with immortals wending their way to the house of God. Here the senses are not disgusted with drunkenness, cursing, and dreadful oaths. It is delightful on the Lord's-day to see the negroes in their clean white dress crowding the churches; and oftentimes at the large Moravian Church to which I belong, hundreds are obliged to remain outside.

"I have been delighted to observe the pleasing countenances of the country negroes on market-day, in their clean dress of a calico gown, a handkerchief for a head-dress, uncommonly healthy, and well-looking: from their genteel deportment, freedom, and genteel behaviour to all, you would suppose they never knew the curse of slavery; yes, my dear sir, it is impossible for the friends of the negro to form any adequate idea of the inestimable blessings freedom has conferred upon all in this island. Generations unborn will bless God for the glorious first of August, 1834."

GRANDFATHER SOL.

THE following conversation is extracted from the American Anti-Slavery Record for April last. It was furnished by a lady in Cincinnati, who is wholly employing herself in the instruction of the colored people of that town. "These are a few of the things," she says, "he has told me and others. As we have to get somebody to interpret most that he says, his tale of woe is robbed of its simplest, most interesting garb. Though he is old and feeble, robbed of most of his strength by slavery, still his mental faculties retain their vigour astonishingly."

Where were you born? In Guinea, where people don't know anything about books. Who did you live with? With my father and mother until I got to be a young man, when I went out to wash my fish-trap in a pond one day, and three white men came up to me, and told me to go along with them, and they would give me some knives and pretty things. I was afraid to go with them, and cried like a dog, for I knew they did not want anything good. They took me on board a ship, where there was one hundred men, and two hundred women. We were ironed together, two and two, and put down in the bottom of the ship. All the way I felt bad in my heart; I wanted to see my father and mother very bad. Nobody can tell anything how black people feel when they are stolen from father and mother, and chained and carried way off on the ocean, they don't know where. We at last landed at Richmond, Virginia, and they began immediately to sell us. I was sold right off to Mr. W——. What did he give for you? I don't know; I could not tell scarcely a word that was said to me, and that made me feel lonely and bad enough. The overseer whip't me right off, to let me know what the whip meant. I found this was badder country, worse than Guinea. Did you have to work very hard? *Work, all work*—all day long, all night long often, and all Sunday long,—took little naps now and then. I knew something about God in Guinea, but with this master I heard nothing of God or my soul. I lived with this man I should think several years, then he gave me to his daughter when she was married. There I found another bad master, no peace or rest to poor me. When he had been away and got back, he used to whip all his slaves, to let them know that he had got home, and to make them afraid of him. He whip't one slave to death, because he got religion. I was a new hand, and would fight the overseer. So master had my hands tied together, and me hung up in the barn, and whip't one hundred lashes with a hickory switch. It cut raw gashes every blow,

and before it would get well, it was cut over again,—back never well whilst I lived with Mr. W——. I suppose you had enough to eat, had'n't you? No; hungry all day long,—sometimes went away to the neighbours at night, and they would give me a hoe-cake. How long did you stay there? I can't tell exactly, but I should think eight or nine years. *Hungry all that time.* Sometimes I went into the woods to cry. I had no friends. Slaves can't be friends to one another; you afraid for friend, and friend afraid for you. I have found out since that God was my friend, but I did not know it then. I was sold again, and got quite a good master. Christian man—he whip't me only two or three times. He called all his slaves from the tobacco-field to go to prayers. He used to sing,

"That awful day will surely come,
The appointed hour makes haste,
When I must stand before my Judge,
And pass the solemn test."

All the Baptists round there used to come to his house to meeting. I went one time to laugh at the minister; but he said to all sinners, If you do not repent, you will go to hell. When I heard that, I felt condemned before God, and felt that I was a sinner. I prayed all the time—slept mighty little—often; would lie down by hoe in the field, and would stay there all night—pray most all the time—afraid if I went to sleep the devil would have me. Nobody would tell me how to come to Christ, for fear that I would learn experience by hearing others, and tell I had religion before I knew any thing about it. They said, you must get it all from God. I was sick one day, and laid down—word came to me, *Get up.* I did, and felt happy. I run to tell master what God had done for my soul, but I could hardly walk for happiness. I cried for happiness—tried to find my sins again, but could not. I joined the church, and was so happy I hardly wanted to eat. It seemed like as I had wings;—I worked a great deal better. In a little while I was sold again to a master worse than all. Nobody so bad as Mr. S——. One day I found a bridle in the woods, sold it to a woman, and I got one hundred lashes. He put one woman into the fire and burnt her up—said she should go to hell with him. He would not give his black people scarcely anything to eat. We had no meat—wanted it bad enough. One man would have it, so he would kill a hog now and then, and hide it in a hollow tree. When he was whip't for stealing, he would turn and whip master; Was you good to work? Yes; when I took

hold of hoe, dirt must come. Master S— would not let me have time to drink—sometimes whip you when drinking. He marked his women-slaves by giving one a black dress, another a red one, another white, so that he could tell them a great way off, and whip those that did not work well. He killed many men-slaves; some fell down dead in the field. How did he kill them? "*He broke their hearts.*" He was afraid I would run away, so he fastened a fifty-six to my leg. It had a long chain; when I had gone the length of it, I drew it to me. It is of no use to talk about him, he is dead long ago. Where do you think he has gone? Behind hell fire. I don't think hell is bad enough for him. I believe mighty few white people will go to heaven. Was you ever married! Yes, I have had three wives. My first wife was sold off ten miles, and master no let me go so far as that. I felt bad, very bad to part with her; I loved that wife, and *my heart is with her yet.*

You white people need not blame black people for having so many wives; it be white people's fault. They sell your wives away from you. Where was you in the time of the war with England? I was in it. I knew General Washington; he good man. I believe he has gone to heaven. Did you fight? No; I waited on General Wallace. I tell you what, if war ever come again, it will be a worser war. I want war to come again, to set my 'lutions free. I want no more slavery, but every body work for themselves. That will be right; then it will be warmer weather. God make it so cold because white people do black people so bad.

How did you get free? A good man that lives somewhere about here brought me from Lexington. He said I was too old to work. Master gave me to him. After a while his brother-in-law came after me—wanted I should work more. But people would not let me go—laughed at him—he was ashamed, and went off. Where did you leave your wife and children? All in slavery. I want to see them mighty bad. But you are blind, grandfather Sol, and can't see! Well, I should know their voices, and they would sound sweet, and I could take hold of their hands besides. I wish my children was free, I would have them learn trades; one a blacksmith, another a tailor, &c., &c. I pray for them every day, that God would make them good, and make their masters' hearts *soft*. God hear my prayer. I love the good people that are trying to get the slaves free. You think, missee, that they will ever get the slaves free in old Kentuck? I think they will, grandfather.—I don't know, they hold 'em mighty tight. In old Virginia white

people say you set niggers free, they'll starve and won't work. You believe that is true? No; masters and all the white people starve more like, for now slaves take care of themselves and white people too. If they will set 'em free, I think they would work well, and get farms, and make good crops. Did you ever want to read the Bible? Yes, me want to know very much what God say to me, a poor sinner; but who would read it me? If I learn to read, master think I'd be free directly. What makes you so crooked? (he is very crooked.) Hoe,—when I was a slave, and worked in the field, I was 'fraid to stand up and rest—kept bent all the time, so my head would not be above the rest. When you see, missee, old slaves all bent over, you may know what made them so. What makes your toes look so? (they are some of them part gone.) When master got mad at me, he take my shoes and make me go bare-footed—froze my feet. What makes your ear look so? (that is, part gone.) Master cut off the rim of it. What for? Nothing at all. He said I stole some buttermilk, but I did'n't do it. Did you ever steal? I have took things without leave. If you don't steal you starve. It is not stealing to take from masters; you pay for it a hundred times—is not that enough? I'll tell you what, I'll say you are my mistress; you set in the house, and master too; I go out into the field in the hot sun, raise crops—now you call it all yours, but is not part of it mine? Did you ever run away? Yes, a great many times; but always got caught, and then cut almost to pieces. I run away once, and went off in the woods, and staid long, long time. I dug a hole in the ground, left a little place to crawl in at, and staid there day-times, and in the night I would go to some black people's houses and get something to eat. Sometimes most starved. Could not go further; if I went back, I knew I should be almost killed, and then I was a poor starving Guinea nigger slave. I got caught, and always expected to be; but would run away to rest, for almost dead with hard work. How did you feel to see slave-holders partake the sacrament? I tell you what, I went to a woods' meeting once, where there was a great many white people going to partake the sacrament. I was going away, but something said to me, Sol, Sol, you tell them they eat and drink damnation to their souls. I 'fraid to say that, but it come again, and I thought God told me, and I was afraid to disobey. So I went up to the head of the table, and cried, Behold, you fine ladies and gentlemen, you eat and drink damnation to your souls. When I had said that, some of my friends seized me and carried me off into the woods, fear I would be killed. Do you

know how old you are? I suppose I am about one hundred. I should think I was a thousand, for I have been in so many different places. I want to go home to heaven mighty bad. I am waiting, hoping, praying God will call Sol every day. I want to leave this wretched world, and go where all is light, and love, and peace. When we get to heaven, all will be of one mind and heart. My soul will be as white as yours. If poor nigger only come to Jesus, he make his soul as white as snow. I push on my journey; God is here now, and that is all the company I have. He and I have meetings together; I feel as if I am marching to Jerusalem. Christians are like hunting dogs, always hunting for Jesus. If I lose him, I hunt till I find him. I see by

an eye of faith into heaven now and then, and see Jesus there. The scars in his hands and side are not healed yet. It makes me weep to see them sometimes. I hope God in heaven hear such a poor dry boned Guinea nigger as I. Sometimes I sing, and sometimes I pray.

"Hark, from the tombs a doleful sound!
My ears, attend the cry:
'Ye living men, come view the ground,
Where you must shortly lie!'"

(He says this is his favourite hymn.) If God had been like my thoughts, I should been home long ago. Can't hardly tell what I live for, but must wait till God calls me.

SLAVE ADVERTISEMENTS.

MEN, WOMEN, BOYS AND GIRLS, HORSES
AND MULES.

Here is an advertisement, just as it stands in a newspaper printed at Montgomery, Alabama:

WILL BE SOLD, at the residence of the subscriber, near the Line Creek road, eight miles east of Montgomery, on Monday the 28th March inst., if not previously sold at private sale, 32 **NEGROES**, men, women, boys and girls; horses and mules; corn and fodder; farming utensils; cattle, hogs, and sheep; one yoke of oxen and

cart, household and kitchen furniture. On a credit until the 25th December next.

Also, at private sale, 560 acres of prairie land, nine miles from Montgomery—20 acres cleared, with two good wells of water thereon. Also, 150 acres mulatto land, 125 acres cleared, a good frame dwelling-house, two stories high, gin house and screw.
March 9—*46p. J. C. FARLEY.

The law of Moses forbade the husbandman "to plow with an OX and an ASS together."—Deut xxii. 10. But in Christian America they sell **MEN** and **MULES** together at the same **AUCTION**.

TRADE IN BLOOD.

The following standing advertisements, from a recent Washington paper, show with what system and to what an extent the dealers in men drive their horrid trade, under the sanction of Congress, and within sight of the Capital.

CASH FOR NEGROES.—We will at all times give the highest prices in cash for likely young Negroes of both sexes, from ten to thirty years of age. Persons having likely servants to dispose of, will do well to call on us, at our residence on 7th Street, immediately South of the Centre Market House, Washington, D. C.

J. W. NEAL & Co.

CASH FOR 300 NEGROES.—The highest cash price will be given by the subscribers for Negroes of both sexes, from the ages of 12 to 28. Those wishing to sell, will do well to give me a call at my residence, or at A. Lee's Lottery Office, five doors east of Gadsby's Hotel. Letters addressed to me, through the Post Office, shall receive the earliest attention. W. H. WILLIAMS,
Washington.

CASH FOR 400 NEGROES, including both sexes, from twelve to twenty-five years of

age. Persons having servants to dispose of, will find it to their interest to give me a call, as I will give higher prices, in cash, than any other purchaser who is now in this market.

I can at all times be found at **MECHANICS' HALL**, now kept by B. O. Sheckle, and formerly kept by Isaac Beers, on Seventh street, a few doors below Lloyd's Tavern, opposite the Centre Market. All communications promptly attended to.

JAMES H. BIRCH,
Washington City.

CASH FOR 500 NEGROES, including both sexes, from 12 to 25 years of age. Persons having likely servants to dispose of, will find it to their interest to give us a call, as we will give higher prices, in cash, than any other purchaser who is now or may hereafter come into the market.

FRANKLIN & ARNFIELD,
Alexandria.

In the same paper also, three runaways are advertised, and rewards of from two to three hundred dollars offered for their apprehension.

THE LEGAL POSITION OF APPRENTICED LABOURERS IN JAMAICA.

Extracted from the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Negro Apprenticeship Committee.

"The apprentice in Jamaica may be worked by day in the field, by night in the boiling, for forty-five hours in succession, excepting the short time allowed by day for meals, when employed in the field; may be mulcted the full amount of his time for the benefit of his employer, though no prejudice may have been suffered by the latter, and flogged on making complaint. He can recover nothing from his employer by any available remedy, nor has any protection against complaints, however frivolous. He has a day to himself, during which he may be imprisoned by an estate constable under the control of the manager. If wages are promised him for extra work, if task-work contracts are violated, he has no available remedy. He can be apprehended at pleasure by any man he meets, who is rewarded for so doing. His wife, his sister, his daughter may be sent to the tread-mill at the discretion of a special magistrate, for any length of time, and for any offence; and there they fall under the control of the colonial magistrate, who may order them all, men, women, and children, to be flogged at his discretion, for any breach of the workhouse discipline. His provisions, food, clothing, he may be deprived of, and is without any remedy, which is not illusory, for an indemnification. He cannot proceed beyond the limits of the plantation, except in a few stipulated cases, without a pass from his employer except under a liability

to be arrested and taken before a magistrate. The pregnant wife, the nursing mother, are unprovided with even nominal additional protection. His children, born free for the last eight years, with those born free the next four years, may be subjected to this treatment for twenty-one years. Supposing him to have committed no possible offence, to have laboured as industriously in his own time, with the view of improving his condition, as in his manager's, in performance of his duty, still must he labour on throughout the period assigned, or purchase off the remaining term, at a price to be affixed by the colonial magistrates."

The actual condition of the negroes may be gathered from the fact that no less than 15,037 lashes have been inflicted on them, by order of the special magistrates, in the months of April, May, and June!

These inflictions of corporal punishment are, in addition to the solitary confinement in loathsome cells, to which they are subject, at the will of their masters; the loss of time in shape of fines to the estates to which they belong; the cruel discipline of the penal gang and the workhouse, where women are not only compelled to labor on the treadmill, but are often brutally flogged; and numerous other modes of injury and suffering to which they are exposed by colonial ingenuity.

What have we gained for our twenty millions?

RESOLUTIONS OF SEVERAL ASSOCIATED BODIES ON THE SUBJECT OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

At the Annual Meeting of the South Devon Congregational Union, held at Totnes, July 14th, 1836, it was moved by the Rev. George Smith, of Plymouth; seconded by the Rev. W. Whillans, of Beeralston, and unanimously resolved,

That this Association highly esteems the spiritual advantages arising from the fraternal intercourse subsisting between the Congregational churches of this country, and the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches of America, and rejoices at the religious liberty enjoyed by the Transatlantic Churches, and the amount of prosperity with which they are favoured: at the same time fidelity and integrity require that we express, in the spirit of Christian love, our deep abhorrence of American Slavery; lament that so many churches in that land participate, directly or indirectly, in the enormous guilt of holding in unnatural and unrighteous

bondage the bodies of their fellow-men and fellow-Christians; and earnestly express the hope that our brethren, thus implicated, will speedily renounce the evil, and employ their influence in the State Legislatures to effect the total abolition of Slavery.

That a copy of the above Resolution be published in the "Patriot" Newspaper, and be sent to the London Congregational Union, and the American Anti-Slavery Society.

GEORGE SMITH, } Secretaries.
W. TARBOTTON, }

At a Public Meeting of the Inhabitants of Bradford and its vicinity, assembled on Tuesday Evening, September 6th, 1836, at the Friends' Meeting-House, to receive information respecting Slavery in America, and to consider the propriety of adopting a Remonstrance to the American nation;

The Rev. G. S. BULL, Incumbent of Byerley, in the Chair. It was resolved,

1. That this Meeting deeply regrets to learn that in the United States of America, upwards of Two Millions of our fellow-creatures are subjected to the degradation of personal slavery, and the miseries of a domestic slave-trade.

2. That a Remonstrance signed on behalf of this town and neighbourhood by the Chairman of the Meeting, be addressed to the American nation, and that it be forwarded to the American Anti-slavery Society for publication.

3. That the remonstrance now to be read by the Chairman shall be adopted by this meeting.

At a Meeting held at Exeter Hall, on Thursday, August 18, 1836, Richard Peek, Esq., late High Sheriff of London and Middlesex, in the chair, the following resolutions were passed:—

That this meeting have heard with the deepest sorrow and indignation, of the enslavement in the United States of America, of more than two millions of the population of that country, and of the prevalence of a domestic slave-trade, attended by circumstances of the most revolting cruelty; and that they regard such guilty practices,

amongst a people otherwise free and exalted, as a flagrant violation of the principles set forth in their declaration of independence, a shameless outrage on the spirit and principles of the gospel, and subversive in their tendency of the freedom, civilization, and happiness of the human race.

That this meeting rejoice in the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and tender to its president, officers, and members, the expression of their fraternal regards and Christian sympathies. That they contemplate with unfeigned satisfaction the rapid multiplication of effective auxiliary associations, already amounting to six hundred, based on the doctrine of the essential sinfulness of slavery, and the consequent duty of immediate and unconditional emancipation. And that whilst they would encourage the Abolitionists of the United States to steadfast continuance and increased exertions in their great work, they would offer them their cordial and zealous co-operation.

That this meeting hail with delight the safe return of their distinguished countryman, George Thompson, to his native land, and respectfully offer him their warm and grateful acknowledgments for his philanthropic and self-denying labors in the United States of America, in behalf of their suffering and oppressed fellow-men.

THE AMERICAN SLAVE.

Land of the brave! thy hallowed shore
Is stained with tints of blood,
And human cries are wafted o'er
Thy deep blue ocean flood.
Hark! from the fields where freedom fought
And heroes bled to save
The ark of liberty, are heard
The moanings of the slave!

Torn from his dear domestic hearth,
Far on a distant strand,
He often casts a longing eye
Towards his father-land;
And as the blue wave at his feet
Scatters its snow-white foam,
He loves to think that it has washed
The border of his home.

The sun, just rising to his view,
Has beamed upon his cot,
Yet bears no message from that shore
To cheer his gloomy lot.
The breeze that fans his pallid cheek,
Has floated o'er his home,
Yet only wafts the fancied sighs
Of those who bid him come.

What is his lot? Unheard-of woe!
Always to love and part!
To feel the lash, to bear the blow,
The rending of the heart!
To see delights he cannot share!
To feast, and yet to crave!
To hoist the flag of liberty,
Yet live and die a slave!

He lives upon a Christian shore,
Enslaved by Christian men!
'Tis they who o'er his tawny neck
Have bound the iron chain.
O God of mercy! let thy voice
Thy truth and love proclaim;
Nor may the tyrants of their race
Disgrace thy holy name.

Rouse thee, Columbia, in thy might;
Thy tarnished glory save;
Bid every subject of thy sway
No longer be a slave.
So shall one song to heaven arise
In sacred harmony,
And echo through the vaulted skies
The shout of liberty.

H. W.

Slavery in America.

No. V.—NOVEMBER, 1836.

WHAT CAN BRITISH CHRISTIANS DO TOWARDS THE EXTINCTION OF AMERICAN SLAVERY?

No. II.

IN a former paper, the importance of making the condition of the slave, and the efforts now in progress for his liberation, a matter of constant prayer, was pointed out. In addition to this, there are many obvious methods of aiding in this great and noble undertaking.

We can bear our testimony against the crime of slavery in our private correspondence. So intimate is the relation between this country and America, that there is scarcely a family of any extent and standing, but what has some connexion, either commercial, social, or religious, with families on the other side of the Atlantic. Our brethren, our sisters, our friends, our correspondents are there; and, as Americans, are deeply involved in the guilt of slavery. Only calculate for a moment what would be the amount of pressure upon the moral feelings of the American people, were the whole of our intercourse with them seasoned by strong anti-slavery principles and appeals! Reason, remonstrate, rebuke! Tell the man of the world that, in every enlightened government, among people who know how to value freedom without playing the tyrant, that he is proverbially the object of scorn and contempt! Tell the politician who pleads for slavery, that his juridical authority is based on the subverted rights and liberties of others! Take the men of education and refinement to the rivers where lie buried the printing-presses, consigned there for no other crime, than holding up their deeds of darkness to the gaze of the world. Ask them, if an American is afraid of a printing-press? And, if writing to a professor of religion, appeal to his reason, to his conscience, to his principles, to his feelings, to his obligations, to the standard of right and wrong that lies before him, and especially to that anticipated judgment where master and slave, the oppressor and the oppressed, will stand in perfect equality, and where each will be judged by one standard. Many of them will doubtless tell you, that they are no slaveholders, they have

no dealings in the flesh and blood of their fellow-creatures ; but do not be satisfied with this general answer. Ask them, if they are constantly remonstrating with those that have such dealings ; if there be not in their veins any lurking prejudice against color ; if they have united heart and hand with that devoted band of philanthropists who are seeking the emancipation of the enslaved, and the deliverance of their country from the crime and the curse of slavery. There are tens of thousands whom, to accuse of neutrality or indifference on the subject of slavery, would scarcely be consistent with justice—who in heart thoroughly hate the system, and who, in public and in private, will inveigh against it, as loud and as eloquent as could be desired, who yet want that vivid sense of the enormity of the evil, which induces active and public efforts for its removal. They love peace and order more than they hate slavery. They will pray and talk against it with all their hearts ; but they consider it an evil best eradicated by the silent operation of conviction, by the diffusion of more correct sentiments, and reiterated appeals to the understanding and judgment.

This is the predicament of the far greater portion of professing Christians in the free states of the Union ; and it is upon the heart and conscience of this class of Christians, that our most powerful and incessant appeals must be pressed. These are the men that have, in a great measure, the destiny of the slave at their disposal. Could they be disposed to join heart and hand in active attempts at the annihilation of the system, Slavery would receive a wound from which it could never survive. It is the comparative torpor of this part of society, that forms the most formidable impediments to the progress of the anti-slavery cause. This quiescence is the atmosphere, the very element in which the slave tyrant exists. He does not ask for patronage ; all he asks is to be let alone. He can endure your appeals to his heart ; for the system under which he lives has hardened it. You may assail his conscience, for it has been already seared. The influence which British Christians can hope to secure, must be with those who, in practice and sympathy, stand aloof from the system. They cannot hope for any access, or at least, for any available access, to those whose sensibilities are already blunted by the abominations of slavery : they must compass their object by a less direct, but not less available process. From this time, let no letter from a British Christian cross the Atlantic which does not allude in strong and stirring accents to the crime under which our Christian brethren in America are suffering—brethren who are our examples and patterns in almost everything but this canker-worm at the root of her institutions, which defaces the beauty of her character, and impairs the efficiency of her labours.

Again : *Let information respecting the wrongs and sufferings of the slave be spread abroad in every direction.* Let his groans be borne on every wind that blows, and heard in every civilized dwelling. Let the tyrant, when he inflicts his merciless stripes on his victim, imagine that the eyes of the world are upon him ; that, when tearing the child from the

fond maternal embrace, or the husband from his wife, or the father from his offspring—the finger of scorn is pointed at him from a thousand hands, and reprobation uttered from ten thousand tongues. Let him know that his deeds of cruelty, however shielded by the darkness and solitude around him, will be re-echoed by the faithful press, and will be transmitted to every civilized portion of the globe; and that while a sigh of commiseration is heaved at the unmerited wrongs of the captive, the dark frown of execration will be cast upon his unjust and merciless oppressor. If there be one nation under heaven that can bear up amidst the scorn and derision of the civilized world, that nation most surely is not America. The frame-work of all its institutions is erected on the basis of public opinion. It was public opinion that matured and consolidated their laws and social polity; it is public opinion which preserves them in exercise and health. To suppose that its legislators and public men are perfectly indifferent to the opinion and practices of other nations, and that its institutions, being the concentration and collection of materials within itself, is therefore independent and dissociated from all the world around, is just as opposed to reason as it is to fact. However national vanity may for awhile vaunt itself, for any man to imagine that this is an adequate substitute for the approbation and esteem of the wise and good in other nations, is just as irrational as to mistake bluster for bravery, and a good opinion of one's self the surest basis, and best reward of virtue. No: the truth, the whole truth, must be told. The eye and the ear must not be so filled with the fancy paintings and poetic descriptions of the American character; of the freedom of her institutions; the amplitude of her territory and resources; the extent of her voluntary efforts for the spread of religion:—we must be permitted to look on the other side of the picture. We must know that these free, these noble-spirited, these philanthropic men are *slave-holders*; that they buy and sell their fellow-creatures, men and women like themselves—separated only by a different tint of complexion; that they barter the beings made in the image of God, the purchase of a Saviour's sufferings, the heirs of immortality, just as cattle in the fields, or as implements of husbandry. These things must be told; the father must tell it to his children; we must sigh over it in our social circles; we must reprobate it on our platforms, and from our pulpits. And those who are susceptible of no higher motive, must be shamed out of practices fit only for a nation of savages, and an age of barbarity.*

Another way in which we may contribute towards the downfall of Ameri-

* The writer is perfectly aware, that to identify these practices with the whole of the American republic, would be gross defamation. Happily it is not the fact. Slavery has been abandoned in one half of the States. No American, however, feeling, as he ought to do, the degradation and guilt of the practice, will take offence, that what is acknowledged by all to be deplorably prevalent, should be predicated as attaching to the national character.

can slavery, is *by affording countenance and encouragement to the band of holy and devoted men who have confederated for the accomplishment of this object.* For this they naturally look. If slavery was so thoroughly abominated by us, that we were ready to buy it off at the cost of twenty millions of national money, surely, having accomplished this work, we can afford a little unexpensive encouragement to those who are engaged in a similar struggle. And let us remember, that their battle is fought in the very camp of the enemy; ours was on neutral ground. The hazards and sacrifices which these warm-hearted friends of the slave are making, are beyond all powers of calculation. In many instances family ties are dissolved, worldly prospects are blighted, character is defamed, and all but life sacrificed; and how long this solitary exception will be allowed, is known only to an Omniscient Being. We have sent our representatives to the American Churches; but they disappointed us: they did not exhibit our sentiments and feelings on the question of slavery. Our alliances in future must not be with American Christians as Baptists, or Congregationalists, or Presbyterians, as with those who, at any sacrifice, and in the face of all hazards, have determined to wash their hands of this foul, this blood-stained abomination.

The character of the active agents in the American anti-slavery cause has been grossly defamed; and, among the abettors of slavery, this was to be expected. To be abused from such quarters is equivalent to praise. And that they should attempt to abuse the public mind in Great Britain, was also to be expected; that they should employ representatives and lecturers for this object, was not beyond the bounds of probability; but we will not join in the hue and cry. Our estimate of the men shall be taken from the cause in which they are engaged, and the zeal and prudence with which they urge it forward; and by this criterion, we are prepared to "esteem them very highly in love for their work's sake." The exertions and the success of the American Anti-Slavery Societies are truly wonderful—they have no parallel in the history of modern revolutions. It is not much more than four years since, that what may be esteemed the thorough anti-slavery spirit, was the inhabitant of one solitary breast—a man who gave up a heart of no ordinary texture, and an intellect of no mean capacity, to this single object, denying himself everything but the barest necessities of life, that he might most effectually serve the cause of the oppressed and down-trodden slave. From this centre it has diffused itself with an energy and rapidity almost incredible; and which would be almost beyond the limits of possibility in any other state of society than that existing in the republican States of America, where aristocratical prejudices have no existence, and offer no resistance to the tide of public opinion and feeling. The principles upon which their operations are conducted, have been sufficiently developed in the preceding pages of this work; and their success has corresponded with the simplicity of their aim, and the energy with

which they have carried it out. At the present time, more than 20,000 members have attached themselves to the society, of whom more than 2000 are ministers of the gospel, of all denominations of Christians. By a recent account, fifty itinerant lecturers are constantly employed in pleading its cause, and strengthening its hold upon the public mind; and it is only for the Society to continue its efforts with the same untiring energy for a very few years, and it must operate such a revolution in public opinion, that not all the force of ignorant prejudice, nor the pride of arbitrary power, nor the love of unjust gain, can stand before it. To aid them in this warfare, they naturally look to the Christians of Great Britain, for countenance and encouragement; nor shall they look in vain. Whatever impulse can be given by the sympathy of many minds, and the concentration of many prayers, will be awarded them; their exertions will be watched with untiring patience, and when it shall please the Great Disposer of events to crown their labours with success, as they most certainly will be, when he shall have "broken the yoke of his burden, and the staff of his shoulder, and the rod of his oppressor;" then shall our congratulations and our praises arise with theirs, to "Him that hath delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him."

Castle Street.

H.

AMERICAN AND BRITISH METHODISTS.

IN our number for September, we gave an account of the Annual Meeting of the Episcopal Methodists at Cincinnati, in May last; and expressed a hope that the Wesleyans of this country would honestly and fearlessly discharge their duty in reprobating the course then adopted. The intimate connexion subsisting between the Methodists of Britain and those of America, rendered it imperative on the former to protest in strong, though courteous and Christian terms, against the resolution of their brethren to lend themselves to the support of a system which, being founded on fraud and impiety, involves a greater mass of sin and wretchedness than any other crime which is perpetrated on earth.

We have now obtained the Minutes of Conference, and shall proceed to lay before our readers a fair statement of what has been done. In order that the language of the English Conference may be rightly estimated, we shall extract from the Address of the American brethren, the passage which relates to slavery; simply premising that their reference to "the perplexing question" was founded on a previous communication from England.

"In common with sister-denominations of Christians in our country, we have been less or more agitated with the perplexing question of negro slavery. And, although we receive with respectful deference what you, as our elder brethren, have said to us in relation to this question, yet we are assured, that from the known prudence by which your body has ever been distinguished, had you been as well acquainted with this subject as we are—could you have viewed it in all its aspects, as it presents itself to us who are in the midst of it, interwoven as it is in many of the State-Constitutions, and left to their disposal by the Civil Compact which binds us together as a nation, and thus put beyond

the power of legislation by the General Government, as well as the control of Ecclesiastical Bodies—could you have critically analyzed its various ramifications in our country, so as to have perceived all its delicate relations to the church, to the several States, and to the Government of the United States—we cannot doubt that, while expressing your decided disapprobation of the system of slavery itself, your tone of sympathy for us would have been deeper and more pathetic. While on this subject, it may be pertinent to remark, that of the coloured population in the southern and south-western States, there are not less than seventy thousand in our Church-membership; and that, in addition to those who are mingled with our white congregations, we have several prosperous Missions exclusively for their spiritual benefit, which have been, and are still owned of God, to the conversion of many precious souls. On the plantations of the south and south-west, our devoted Missionaries are labouring for the salvation of the slaves, catechising their children, and bringing all within their influence, as far as possible, to the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ; and we need hardly add, that we shall most gladly avail ourselves, as we have ever done, of all the means in our power to promote their best interests."

This language, it must be acknowledged, is sufficiently evasive and jesuitical; and its employment in such a communication may be considered as equivalent to a direct rejection of the counsel they had received. They dared not say, in so many words, that they were wedded to the diabolical system, and would maintain it. They knew enough of the temper of their "elder brethren" to abstain from this; but calculating on their ignorance, they plead a variety of considerations, no one of which has anything to do with their conduct as individuals. After all that they urge, it yet remains indisputable that every slaveholder amongst them might manumit his slaves; and that all, whether slaveholders or not, might employ their influence in returning to the Legislature such representatives as would erase from the Statute-book every vestige of that barbarous code by which a large section of the human family is doomed to the vilest degradation and the most abject wretchedness. But this they have not done; this they will not do; against this they are resolved, come what changes there may. Their language, barely respectful, and exceedingly brief, proclaims them, so far as this department of their conduct is concerned, the sworn enemies of human rights, unmoved alike by the authority of God, the love of Christ, and the unutterable sorrows of their fellow-men.

The Rev. Dr. Fisk was present at the English Conference, as a representative of the American brethren, and is referred to in high terms of commendation in the answer returned to their address. Of the personal qualities of this gentleman, it is not our province to speak. We refer to him simply as the representative of a large and influential religious body, deputed at a time of peculiar excitement to advocate their views, and to do justice to their character before their English brethren. We feel therefore at perfect liberty to inquire, what are his views on the question which was the most exciting subject of correspondence, and respecting which his constituents must have expected that discussions would take place at Birmingham. Now we happen to know something of Dr. Fisk's standing in America, having recently met with a letter of his, dated Aug. 31, 1835, and printed in the *Zion's Herald*, just before his departure for this country. In this letter, he speaks out—he makes no secret of his hostility to the Abolition movement; but earnestly implores his brethren, as perhaps the last favour he may have an opportunity of requesting from them, to cease to agitate the church and the world on the subject. In the course of his letter he introduces an extract from a communication received from one whom he terms "a clergyman of our own church of high standing," in the course of which the writer says,

speaking of the South,* "All agree that disunion and civil war are slight evils compared to the ceaseless alarms and occasional tragedies, to which such publications (those of the Anti-slavery Society) expose us. Mercy to the slave, and justice to the master, equally require the adoption of decisive measures. You will see the results of this. The negroes must be subjected to more rigorous discipline, their privileges curtailed, their congregations disturbed, their improvement stayed, their Christian teachers silenced; for these privileges are very capable of being perverted to ruinous purposes. And then the men of the North will anathematize us for measures which they force us, against our wishes, to adopt. Your legislatures cannot, if they would, control the press. Congress cannot exclude these incendiary papers from the mail. The South must and will raise a barrier upon the Potomac—we *must* do it, as we love our wives, our children, our God."

Such are the atrocious sentiments to which a president of a college, and a minister of religion, can give utterance, in the coolness and confidence of epistolary communication. Instead of repenting of, and abandoning, their sins, the slave-holders of the South, the ministers, and deacons, and church-members, whose hands are stained with negro blood, *owe it to their God* to increase the burdens of their bondmen, and to withdraw from them the small pittance of consolation which religion is permitted to afford. Foul impiety this, under whatever garb its enormity may be concealed!

But what are Dr. Fisk's comments on this letter of a "clergyman of high standing?" Does he indulge an honest indignation at the barbarity and wickedness of his correspondent's threatening? Does he protest in the name of religion and humanity against the adoption of measures so manifestly hostile to the dictates of duty, and the benevolent spirit of the gospel? Our readers shall judge for themselves. "This, brethren," he says, "is a specimen of the feelings of the South. Say, if you will, it is a wrong and erroneous feeling, still it exists; it is universal, and the consequences may be foreseen without any great share of prophetic vision. Unless this misguided and delusive course should be relinquished, the country is ruined. And when Northern Abolitionists have accomplished their work of desolation over the fairest portion of the political and ecclesiastical world, who will there be to raise the song of triumph? None but demons below, and despots on earth. The abolitionists themselves, when they see the result of their own blind and obstinate measures, will join in the general lament. And their sorrow will be the more poignant, because their own hands will have done the deed. I hope, and pray, and trust, however, that this event will not be; that the great body of the people will see the impropriety of the course pursued, and that the strength of public sentiment will put an end to this most thriftless and ill-timed Northern agitation on the question of Southern slavery."

Such remarks appended to such an extract, need no comment. Such then was the tenor of the communication, and such were the anti-abolition sentiments of the delegate, sent by the American Methodists to their brethren in this country. Let us now turn to the English Conference.

Their reply to the American address is now before us, and we frankly declare, that it does not, in our judgment, come up to what the occasion required. It contains much that is excellent, and what would be suitable in the first communication on such a subject. But as an answer to an evasive, and we hesitate

* The writer referred to is, we believe, the Rev. Dr. Olin, president of the Randolph Macon College, in the State of Virginia.

not to say, an irreligious and hypocritical letter, it is open to serious exception. The law of Christian duty ought to have been pressed home with more pungency ; and the manifest and awful inconsistency of the course persisted in, with the profession made, have been pointed out in strong terms of condemnation. There is too much tenderness expressed towards the slave-holder ; the difficulties and trials of whose situation are so adverted to as to constitute an opiate to his conscience, rather than a healthy stimulant to vigorous action. Soft and measured language, which trembles on the tongue when assuming anything like the form of reproof, is not the style in which an enormous evil that degrades one section of the human family and brutalizes another, should be adverted to. The enunciation of general principles in such a case is not sufficient to meet the claims of Christian duty. It would have been more befitting to have mingled the earnest and beseeching entreaties of Christian affection, jealous for the reputation of offending brethren, with an explicit declaration of what the laws of Christ and the claims of humanity required. But we will enable our readers to judge for themselves, simply adding, that we have penned these remarks in no uncandid or censorious spirit ; but from a deep conviction of the importance which attaches to the communications of so extended and influential a body as are the Wesleyan Methodists of this country.

" We regret," say the Conference, " that the allusion in our epistle of last year to the subject of slavery, should have occasioned you either pain or embarrassment. We claimed no right to suggest any thing to you on this confessedly difficult question, beyond what our fraternal relationship would warrant ; a privilege of friendship which we should as freely concede to you as exercise ourselves ; and we utterly disclaim all responsibility for any other kind of foreign interference with your views and feelings, which may have been exerted from any other quarter. We were aware, dear brethren, of the peculiar trials to which the evils of slavery have subjected you ; and our sympathy with you was most sincere. But being called upon to address you at a time when the blessings of emancipation had been secured to our own slave-population, and when the question, as we knew, occupied much public attention in America, especially amongst religious men, we considered it our duty to give our moral weight in support of those views which were held by our great Founder ; which have repeatedly been professed by the British Conference ; and which, indeed, have been for many years avowed in your own Book of Discipline and other public documents, and are, we believe, in strict accordance with our merciful and righteous Christianity.* Into the details of any measures of emancipation we did not enter ; but, in conformity with our well-known sentiments, intended to affirm the principle, that slavery is a system of oppressive evil, and is in direct opposition to the spirit of our divine religion ; and we hoped that the time had arrived, when our beloved sister-Connexion in America would be prepared to act on these sentiments, and receive our suffrages with approving cordiality. Slavery, in itself, is so obviously opposed to the immutable principles of justice, to the inalienable rights of man of whatever color or

* " The following is an extract from the American ' Book of Discipline :—

" Q. What shall be done for the extirpation of the evil of slavery !

" A. 1. We declare that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery ; therefore no slave-holder shall be eligible to any official station in our church hereafter, where the laws of the State in which he lives will admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom.

" 2. When any Travelling Preacher becomes an owner of a slave or slaves, by any means, he shall forfeit his ministerial character in our church, unless he execute, if it be practicable, a legal emancipation of such slaves, conformably to the laws of the State in which he lives.

" 3. All our Preachers shall prudently enforce upon our members the necessity of teaching their slaves to read the word of God ; and to allow them time to attend upon the public worship of God on our regular days of divine service."

condition, to the social and civil improvement and happiness of the human family, to the principles and precepts of Christianity, and to the full accomplishment of the merciful designs of the Gospel, that we cannot but consider it the duty of the Christian church to bear an unequivocal testimony against a system which involves so much sin against God, and so much oppression and wrong inflicted on an unoffending race of our fellow-men.

"In common with others, the Wesleyan Conference, and generally the people of their charge, took this course during the discussion of the question of emancipation in our own beloved country. The force of Christian principle, peaceably but firmly maintained, and legitimately urged, has overcome every difficulty. The black and coloured population of our own colonies have entered into a state of freedom; and the inestimable advantages of religious liberty have been secured on the basis of an equal toleration. The Conference has the means of knowing that the blessing of God has been graciously vouchsafed to this act of national justice, in the extension of the Gospel, in the conversion of great numbers of the negroes, and in the improved state of society in the colonies.

"As it must always be the duty of Christian ministers and churches, not only to embody the principles of their holy religion in their formularies of doctrine and codes of discipline, but also to act upon them, the Wesleyan Conference of this country trust that their American brethren may be enabled, by the constant avowal of the great *principle* of emancipation, to direct and urge forward their people to unite in the truly Christian enterprise of conferring on the slave-population of the United States the inestimable benefits of civil and religious freedom.

In assuming the right of mildly, but firmly, pressing such sentiments on public attention, the Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America cannot, any more than ourselves, be chargeable with an inconsistent zeal. Whilst the Methodist Connexion in England zealously concurred in adopting measures to secure the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, they at the same time supported one of the most extended and expensive Missions of modern times, in order to prepare them for the boon. We are aware that our brethren in America have, in like manner, by their Itinerant and Missionary labours, done much in conferring the blessings of religious instruction on the slave-population of their country; and surely the men who have thus laid the foundation for a peaceful state of society, founded on freedom, cannot but have the right to recommend and support all proper and lawful measures for the consummation of their own great work.

"But in addition to these inferior considerations, the Conference cannot but avow its conviction that in all cases it is most safe, and in the end most advantageous, that Christian churches should act on the principle of *religious* obligation and duty. And although it deeply deplores that the Methodists of the United States should be exposed to inconvenience, obloquy, or danger, by the assertion of right sentiments on this subject; yet as the evil of slavery does exist there,—as they are brought into immediate contact with it,—as they are called, in the order of divine Providence, to maintain their long-published and scriptural testimony against it, even in the midst of this state of things,—and as the progress of events renders it impossible, even if it were lawful, that they should be neutral,—the British Conference trusts that it will not be considered as in any way exceeding the privileges of the fraternal relation existing between the two parties, when it expresses its anxious and earnest hope that our American brethren will feel it their duty, in union with other Christians, to adopt such measures as may lead to the safe and speedy emancipation of the whole slave-population of their great and interesting country."

AN AFFECTING NARRATIVE.

"The following facts were related in my hearing by a man of colour from one of the Southern states. This man has, by some means, purchased his own freedom, and

that of his wife; but his children, several of them, have been taken away from him, and sold, he knows not where. He proves himself, to the satisfaction of all who have

intercourse with him, to be a humble disciple of Jesus. I will give the facts, as nearly as possible, in his own words:—

“‘I had a little boy about eleven years old. One night, as he came home, he said to me, ‘Father, the constable has been measuring me to-day.’ ‘Measuring you,’ said I, ‘what does that mean?’ ‘I don’t know,’ said he. ‘He measured me about my body, and then he measured how high I was. I am afraid, father, they are going to sell me.’ ‘I tried,’ said the poor father, ‘not to think of it; but the next morning, soon after I went to my work, a little boy came running up to me, crying out, ‘John is gone, yonder they are taking him off now.’ I went after them, and when I came near, my dear babe reached out his hands to me, and said, ‘Father, I’m gone. Can’t you do something for me?’ At this, the man who was taking him away, gave him a kick, and kicked him along the road; and I have not seen my dear child, or heard of him, from that day to this. I could do nothing to help him. It hurts me to think of it.’”

Here he wept. Never in my life has my heart been so agonized at any deed of man, as when I heard this grey-headed father give this simple relation. ‘I had a daughter also,’ said the poor old man, ‘who was married, and had one child. One day a carriage drove up to the door, and took her in, with her child; and carried them on board a vessel then lying at the wharf, about to sail. As soon as I heard of it, I went after them. When I went to go on board, they pushed me back, but some one standing by said, ‘That’s too bad; let the old man see his daughter.’ I then went on board, and my poor child threw her arms about my neck, and said, ‘Father, I’m gone.’” Here the old man’s sobs prevented his utterance; but he recovered himself sufficiently to say, “I have not seen or heard of my child since. Her husband heard of it, and went to the vessel; but they drew a dirk upon him, and would not allow him to go on board. Oh,” said the old man, as the tears streamed from his eyes, ‘it hurts me every

time I think of it.’ Probably, it would hurt a slave-holder to suffer such wrongs, and the best of them could be no more injured by them than this poor disciple of Christ.”

“This man has (if I recollect the number), six children sold into helpless servitude, he knows not where. Three remained with him, and these, some months ago, were bought up by a notorious firm of slave-dealers, and shipped for the southern market. Here the old man felt that he had lost his all; and the distress of his wife, ‘who wept,’ to use his language, ‘as though her heart would burst,’ drove him with great reluctance, after endeavouring to put his trust in God, to state his case to some pious friends, and ask if something could not be done for him. A minister of the Gospel, who was affected to tears at the old man’s recital, went to the slave-dealers, and interceded for him. They at length consented, that if the poor father himself could raise the money in one week (amounting to considerably more than two thousand dollars), he might have his own children, i. e. the ones last taken away. Perhaps they considered the question settled, as they would consent to no other conditions, and regarded it as impossible for the father to do as they proposed. He lifted his cries to God, however, and they were heard, and friends raised up, who gave him some few hundred dollars, and at length made him a loan of what remained, amounting to eighteen hundred, on condition that it should be paid in two years. If at that time it remains unpaid, the children are to be sold to pay it. The poor father is now, with much diffidence and great embarrassment, stating his case to the pious and benevolent, and asking their aid, that his children may not again be sold into bondage. If any heart is opened by this statement to do any thing for him, information can be obtained respecting him at the Anti-slavery Office in this city, or by addressing a line to the writer of this.”—*Rev. Charles Fitch’s 4th of July Address, in Pine Street Church, Boston.*

The above was read a few days since, by Mr. George Reed, of Deep River, Connecticut, to the Sabbath School in the Baptist Church in that place; and on the succeeding sabbath, ten dollars were contributed to aid in ransoming these American citizens from slavery. Mr. Reed has made the amount twelve dollars, and left it at the Anti-slavery Office in this city to be forwarded to the coloured man. His name is Burdett Washington. The editor of the *Christian Secretary*, Hartford, Connecticut, vouches for his good character; says, that “he has long been a member of a Baptist Church in Alexandria, Va.; is earnestly commended to the generosity of the public:” and that “his is, indeed, a tale of woe.”—Any sums left for him at the Anti-Slavery Office in this city will be duly forwarded.—*ED. EMAN.*

LETTER OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE BAPTIST UNION, TO
THE BOARD OF THE TRIENNIAL CONVENTION OF BAPTIST
CHURCHES IN THE UNITED STATES.

London, Sept. 13, 1836.

Dear Brethren.—The letter of April last, addressed by you, on behalf of the Convention, to the union of Baptist churches in Great Britain, arrived in sufficient time to be read at one of the meetings of this body in June; and we have the opportunity of giving you the most emphatic assurance, therefore, that it was received in a spirit of fervent Christian love and delight. We feel that we love you, because of the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ towards you, and because of his image in you; most earnestly do we pray, that the one may become daily more perfect, and the other more abundant.

We acknowledge, that you take a correct view of the position which we occupy, and the warfare to which we are called. We have to contend “with usages and opinions time-hallowed, and endeared by a thousand cherished recollections, and to break down barriers guarded by an interested and powerful hierarchy.” It is of the highest moment, that we should gird ourselves for the conflict, in the strength and in the spirit of Christ. The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, neither should our temper be secular. We are not permitted to doubt, that spiritual weapons shall be mighty through God, to pull down strong holds. Pray for us, that, in all our exertions, we may both aim at his glory, and promote it. With gratitude to God we can say, that the internal mischief to which you have alluded, is sensibly on the decline.

Though grateful, we are not surprised, to learn that our deputed brethren acquired among you “a deep personal regard.” We take this opportunity of repeating our acknowledgments (already publicly expressed) of the kind and courteous manner in which they were received. May we be permitted, also, to express our sincere regret, that we had not the pleasure of welcoming to our assemblies a deputation in return!

You have solicited “the continuance of our correspondence from year to year.” And you have solicited it upon terms most frank and honourable. You “entreat” us, “as we also entreat you,” not only to assist you with our “counsel,” but, “as faithful brethren, to remind you” of any “danger” to which we may deem you to be exposed; and as, of course, there could be no satisfactory correspondence upon any other principles, so, we trust, it will not be displeasing to you, if we bring them into action on the present occasion. Whatever freedom we may be conceived to take, we certainly cherish the spirit, and we hope to use the language, both of affection and respect.

Our deputed brethren, although they did not mention the subject of slavery in the public proceedings of the convention, at a private meeting, assembled for the purpose, made known the feelings of pain and lamentation with which our body, in common with all religious bodies in this country, at that time regarded the state of American society, and American churches in reference to it. Since that period our feelings have grown far more deep and solemn. The facts which have been brought to light have afflicted us beyond measure, and have made us feel it our imperative duty to put into a channel of public utterance the senti-

ments of the united churches, in the series of resolutions, which were passed unanimously at the public meeting on the 22nd of June, and which we transmit to you herewith.*

We are not uninformed of the degree in which, in the American Union, slavery is either incorporated in the social system, or upheld by public opinion; nor have we been unobservant of the sensitiveness with which remarks on it, whether foreign or domestic, have been almost universally received. We have no wish to give offence, but our duty to God and to man will not permit us to be silent, nor can we believe, after what you have written, that you wish us to be so. You will not refuse to consider what, "as faithful brethren," we address to you; and most sincerely do we add our prayer, "The Lord give you understanding in all things!"

It is surely a position which admits of no dispute, that in this, as in other matters, a line of conduct may be expected from the disciples of Christ, materially different from that which may be anticipated from men of the world. Of what use, otherwise, are the rectitude and tenderness of conscience, the holy light, and the exalted principles which characterize a Christian? Now it is to the churches, of which you are the representatives, that we make our appeal. Professors of the name of Christ! whatever others do, we entreat *you*, neither hold a slave, nor countenance slavery.

According to some allegations, indeed, which, with whatever truth, have been made on behalf of American slaveholders, we are called upon to believe, that, through the force of iniquitous laws, the liberation of slaves is impracticable. Otherwise, we are assured, many would gladly set them free; but, in existing circumstances, it is necessary, and even obligatory, to detain them. Of course,

* We are glad to find that these resolutions commend themselves to the approval of the American Anti-slavery Society. We learn this fact from the *Emancipator* of September 8, the organ of the Society; the Editor of which, after extracting from our first number, remarks, these resolutions are "to be forwarded to the Executive of the Triennial Convention of Baptists in this country, accompanied by a letter from the Committee of the Union; and, upon the manner of their reception, will depend the question of continued fellowship between the Baptists of Great Britain and America; at least such of them as do not bear their testimony against slavery.

This is a noble position. We thank our Baptist brethren for it. It settles one great point, namely, that in Great Britain, Baptists, *as a body*, are determined *openly to give to the Abolitionists of America the benefit of their countenance and support*. We bless God for such a testimony, and take fresh courage from it in our arduous but blessed work. Give us, brethren, your sympathies, your prayers, your countenance, and support; and, by the blessing of God, Jubilee shall come, and that speedily, even in America." The Editor of the *Liberator*, Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, in his paper of August 27, referring to the same resolutions, says, "Several of the Anti-abolition papers are rejoicing over the resolutions adopted by the British Baptist Union, in relation to Drs. Cox and Hoby, which they affect to consider as an approval of their course in regard to the Anti-slavery question in this country. A very equivocal approval, we could not help thinking it, even when we saw it by itself. But the last week's *Emancipator*, contains extracts from the proceedings of the meeting which adopted it; and in these we find abundant evidence, that that body was far enough from intending to *approve* the timidity of their delegates while here. . . . Verily, our apologists for slavery are 'grateful for small favours,' if they can find in their hearts to rejoice over the demonstrations of feeling amongst British Baptists in regard to American Slavery, and the advocates of the respective schemes of immediate emancipation, and prolonged oppression—alias, gradual abolition." We purposely omit several extracts from other papers, bearing on the same topic, as we have no desire to pain the parties censured.—Ed.

we understand this as the language of lamentation and complaint. Here is a practical, and avowedly regretted, restriction on the liberty of the *holder* of the slave; he may not give the freedom he wishes to give. The duty of a person thus situated, surely becomes obvious in an instant. We say to him, if a law which either imposes an impossible condition on manumission, or decrees the seizure of a manumitted slave, makes it imperative on you to detain him for the moment, ought you not to be making restless endeavours for the repeal of that law; and using every means to prepare for the easy acquisition and the safe possession of that freedom, which it is your right to give and his to enjoy? Without such endeavours, it becomes manifest that the existence of the law is but a pretext for the slaveholder, and his acquiescence in it renders him a partaker of its iniquity.

In ordinary cases, however, we conceive we cannot be in error in regarding slavery as optional. Now we raise an argument on this ground; and we cannot hesitate to affirm, that, however it might be repelled by a man of the world, it ought to be enough for a Christian. To hold a fellow-creature in bondage, is to hold him in a condition of personal degradation and disadvantage; a condition, as it now exists, which denies him access to the various sources of instruction and avenues of advancement which are open to others, which allows no sacredness to domestic ties, but sets at naught the divine institution of marriage, and with it both the affections and the duties of the conjugal and parental relations; which makes man an outcast from society, and repels him, not as an alien merely, but as a brute, from the community, of which he is, nevertheless, a constituent and a vital part; which, in the great majority of instances, involves labours which shorten life, and, in too many cases, the almost murderous extinction of it, and which, in fine, impedes most grievously a slave's religious instruction, fosters his vices of every kind, and renders all but impossible, for the most part, his glorifying God on earth, or his learning the way to heaven. Now, we suppose it to be *at the option* of a Christian, whether he will hold a fellow-creature in a condition like this. Can it for a moment be doubted what his choice will be? Or can any one, in either hemisphere, consent to call him a Christian, who *chooses* to have a slave? What! is Christianity reduced, not merely to a name, but a mockery? Does its loud proclamation of "good will to men," mean nothing more than a sanction for the right of power? Is it no longer the law of our acknowledged Sovereign, "Do ye to others, as ye would that they should do unto you?" Are equity, benevolence, and compassion, no more the characteristics and indispensable virtues of our profession?

If any one should meet this appeal by saying, that *he* treats his slaves as his children; we must be permitted to reply—first, that he can in no way do so well for them as by breaking their chains; secondly, that he cannot tell who may come after him, nor how soon; and thirdly, that his example upholds abominations which he refuses to practise, and would appear to condemn.

Nor should we be silenced, by being informed, of what we very well know, that, in the southern states, "slavery is a political institution." We are not political meddlers. But we suppose that even the "political institution" of slavery does not deprive the freeman of his liberty. We appeal, therefore, still to the heart of a Christian, as to his individual choice. Our language is—Fellow Christian! and, if a fellow Christian, man of benevolent spirit, of universal love! *will you hold a slave!*

How can we conceive the heart of a Christian dictating, or permitting, any other answer than one to this question? I WILL NOT. We must think the case

decided, therefore, with every Christian, if it be merely at his option. But we cannot let it rest here. While it may assuredly be expected, that a Christian would break every yoke *if he might*, it is important for him to remember, not only that he may, but that, if he can, he must. The declarations, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," and, "Whatsoever things ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them," are the voice of authority, and have the unquestioned force of law. *It is not at our option*, whether we fulfil these commands. It is *required* of us by Jesus Christ, our Lord. All his professed subjects are *bound* to obey them. Every faithful subject *will* obey them.

Is it not certain, dear brethren, that a consistent obedience to these precepts would lead to the immediate liberation of a large number of slaves? Is it not also certain, that such a proceeding, taken by Christian professors at large, in the slave-holding states, or by any considerable portion of them, would exhibit the subject in a new light; would arouse the whole community; and shake the entire system of slavery to its foundations? Is not the overthrow of this system an object to which, under the force of the same reasons, all Christians ought earnestly to address themselves. Is there any other probable method of achieving this inestimable consummation? Will it not constitute a noble and a characteristic triumph for Christianity? And is not the abetting of slavery, and even acquiescence in it, *a sin*, of which every disciple of Christ ought immediately to wash his hands?

The resolutions we transmit to you, dear brethren, do not refer exclusively to the fetters which bind the slave; they advert also to the prejudices which afflict the coloured freeman. We cannot say, that we feel at all less strongly on this subject than on slavery itself. There are, indeed, reasons which make it to us the more afflictive of the two. The degradation of the free blacks is certainly not "a political institution" of any part of the Union, nor is it founded on any different relation which they bear to the body politic, as compared with the whites. And, whatever pretext might be found for their oppression in a region of slaves, there obviously can be none where slavery is unknown. Yet a strong and general prejudice against people of colour is cherished even in the northern states; where it must be a matter of mere prejudice, generated by the pride which it subsequently fosters, and as ungenerous and unholy as it is proud.

It is to us nothing less than marvellous, that this grievous oppression, both of the bond and the free, should exist and be clung to by a nation which glories in its liberty, and which was the first to proclaim to other lands that the rights of all are equal; but it is not for us to bewail this inconsistency. nor the injury which is thus done in the eyes of the world, to the otherwise noble institutions which it impairs and undermines. It is, however, more than marvellous to us, it is almost incredible, that the indefensible and cruel prejudices against persons of colour, should have been adopted by the churches of Christ, and manifested in the worship and ordinances of his house! He was meek and lowly in heart. Are his followers not to copy his example? Would he have treated persons of African descent as the slightest mixture of tainted blood causes them to be treated among you? You know that he would not; and, if you imitate him, you will do so no more. Degrading distinctions, which say not "I am *holier*," but only "I am *whiter* than thou," will instantly be banished from places of divine worship; and the reformation begun here will be extended cheerfully to the entire system of which these are a part.

In pressing the fulfilment of this duty upon you, dear brethren, we have the advantage of being able to say, that it is impeded by no obstacle. There can be no case in which the retention of the prejudice we are combating can be obligatory or imperative. In indulging it, you are only either pampering the pride of your own hearts, or yielding to the current of feeling around you. As Christians, you are called on to mortify the former, and stem the latter. Nothing hinders you from beginning, and even from triumphing, at once. The object may be achieved the first moment you are determined to achieve it. And, permit us to assure you, that, whenever this moment shall arrive, it will be inferior to none in the history of your churches, for honour to the name you profess, for prosperity to the churches you compose, and for prosperity to the country you adorn.

Dear brethren, "our mouth is open unto you, our heart is enlarged." But we speak not alone. We call to remembrance, that we are addressing a body, the sentiments of some of whom, and a number rapidly increasing, are in unison with our own. We rejoice in the abundant evidence which has reached us of the fact that the attention of many has been awakened, and that the voices of many have been heard. Yes; America has heard on this subject the voices of many of her sons; and, with delight we have seen among the band of her abolitionists (and many, in spirit, we trust, are such who have not adopted the name), a large number of our own denomination. No words can express the warmth of our sympathy with them, or the ardour of our desire, that, on this great occasion, our entire denomination may be of one heart and one mind. Be assured, dear brethren, that the extinction of oppression, whether of the bond or free, is a work which lies with the churches of Christ. They can do it. They must do it. They will be responsible for the continuance of oppression, with all its crimes and horrors, if they do it not. And, as no portion of the church of Christ in the United States, is more influential than your own, as none has been more abundantly blessed with those extraordinary operations which exhibit religion in its mightiest energies; as none is more prompt or more vigorous in all other works of faith and labours of love, so we entreat you to suffer none to be more forward, or more active, in this good cause. We know that over the same cause both our fathers and ourselves slept too long; but it would be poor evidence that we had been awakened, if we were to use no efforts for the arousing of our brethren. We wish to believe, that whatever slumber remains among you, is but that of inadvertency and inconsideration. It cannot be that you will refuse to put away this "accursed thing," when its true aspect shall have appeared to you. An enlightened conscience and a melting heart will be far more prompt and effectual than our importunities; and, perhaps, even while we are writing, may be rendering our importunities needless.

Can we, dear brethren, without showing unreasonable fears, again entreat you to receive in kindness, what we have written in the fulness of our hearts? Or, can we hesitate to anticipate that serious consideration of our remarks, that willing acquiescence in evident truth, and that ready fulfilment of admitted duty, which shall fully convince us that you are, indeed, our brethren in Christ, and justify the fervour with which, on the behalf of our brethren at large, we subscribe ourselves,

Yours in Christian love,

W. H. MURCH,
JOSEPH BELCHER, } *Secretaries.*
EDWARD STEANE, }

APPRENTICESHIP SYSTEM.

OUR readers will be gratified to learn, that during the past month four gentlemen have sailed from Falmouth in the *Skyllark* packet for Barbadoes, and the other West India islands, with the view of obtaining a clearer insight into, and a more accurate knowledge of, the working of the apprenticeship system. Joseph Sturge, Esq., of Birmingham; and Mr. Seoble, the respected Secretary of the Society for the abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade throughout the World, are amongst the number of these disinterested and zealous friends of humanity. We commend them most earnestly to the prayers of all our Christian friends, that they may be preserved from danger, and be guided by infinite wisdom in the discharge of their delicate and difficult duties. They will probably meet with opposition in their self-denying-labours; but, if sustained by the confidence and prayers of British Christians, their mission cannot fail of important and most desirable results. "I commend myself," says one of the deputation, in a letter to the Editor, dated Falmouth, October 16, "and the cause in which I and my companions are embarked, to your prayers. Do not forget us, that we may have wisdom and grace to pursue it, in a right spirit, to a successful issue."

ADDRESS OF THE BAPTIST MISSIONARIES IN JAMAICA TO THE MARQUIS OF SLIGO.

The Jamaica Watchman, of September 7, contains an address presented by the Baptist Missionaries resident in that island, to the Marquis of Sligo, together with his Excellency's reply. Our limits prevent our giving these documents entire, but they are so honourable to both parties that we cannot feel satisfied without making extracts from them. It is highly gratifying to mark the progress of events. A few years since the Baptist Missionaries in Jamaica were the objects of popular odium, and of magisterial oppression. Every means of annoyance and injury were set in operation against them. Their characters were libelled, their labours denounced, and their continuance in the colony was affirmed to be incompatible with its welfare. Like honest men, they met the tide of abuse and calumny which assailed them, and have now received an ample reward. They appealed to the future, and its judgment has been given in their favour.

In their address to the Marquis of Sligo, after adverting to the civil benefits which had accrued from his administration, they thus proceed—

Although, however, we thus beg to express our sentiments and feelings with respect to the beneficial changes of a more political kind that are progressing so cheerfully around us, it is principally in the character of Christians and of Christian Missionaries, that we would address your Excellency on the present occasion.

In a colony, where, on the part of the professed representatives of the people, and of the white inhabitants in general, prejudices against Dissenters have ever been proverbial, we have enjoyed the confidence that your Lordship would never suffer our religious privileges to be infringed with impunity; and in no instance of which we are aware, has that confidence proved itself misplaced. Whether as ministers or as private Christians—whether as bond or free, when-

ever a well authenticated case of persecution for conscience' sake has been submitted to your lordship, you ever have manifested your sympathy with the oppressed ; your respect for the rights of private judgment ; your hatred of religious intolerance, and your firm determination, like that of our beloved Monarch whose Representative you are, not only to maintain inviolate the provisions of the Act of Toleration, but to unite with the noble descendants of Fox, and other distinguished advocates of freedom, in their exertions to extend its protection and benefits until every law which infringes on the liberty of conscience be expunged from the statute book of England, and of her colonies.

With a mind thus noble and enlightened, perceiving the great bearing of religious education on the civilization of the apprentice portion of the community, and on the aspects and happiness of society at large, your lordship immediately, on assuming the reins of the government, began the formation of a plan for general education on the most liberal and extended scale, inviting the co-operation of all sects and parties in its completion ; and, although the generous and self-denying efforts of your Excellency were in this respect repeatedly defeated by colonial prejudice and power, your Excellency has, notwithstanding, so aided by your influence and property, the efforts made by individuals and Societies of different denominations in this great and interesting work, that we hesitate not to say, such a rapid and wide diffusion of the great blessings of Scriptural education, within so comparatively short a period as that, during which your Excellency has presided over us, has scarcely ever been surpassed, if equalled, in any age or in any part of the world.

Your Excellency's resignation of the government of the colony would have awakened our regret and apprehensions at any time, and under the most common circumstances ; but your departure at the present crisis, when, after a conciliatory, firm, and benevolent course of action, you have, to a considerable degree, disarmed opposition to your public measures ; when under all the disadvantages with which your Lordship has had to contend, from being the possessor of slave property, from being the author as they supposed of the apprenticeship scheme, and of all the novel systems of punishment it introduced, you have succeeded in securing the confidence and homage of all the intelligent of the apprentice population ; at a time when the salutary effects of your Lordship's administration in the peace and prosperity of the country were beginning to be realized, and when the worst fears were entertained of efforts to impede the progress of reform so auspiciously advancing,—we should feel at a loss for suitable terms in which to convey our disappointment and concern, were we not to resolve all events, however seemingly adverse, to the controlling influence of that almighty and benignant Being, who worketh all things "after the counsel of his own will," and who can never be at a loss for suitable agencies with which to secure the perfection of his purposes.

In his reply the Governor bears very high and honourable testimony to the character and labour of the Missionaries. Referring to their address, he says—

The independence of character which has marked the conduct of the Missionaries, whose labours have been directed to the religious improvement of Jamaica, and which has occasioned all the vexations which have in times past attended the duties of your office, makes the very handsome tribute of your good opinion which I have just received from you, the more honourable to me,

as I feel that, were it not the conviction of your minds that it was applicable, I should not have received it at your hands.

This is not, however, the only service I have to acknowledge myself indebted to you for. I cannot forget, that when solicited by me to further the cause of good order and the maintenance of the law, by the exertions of the influence you possess in your ministerial character, you readily afforded to me your assistance. The efficiency of those efforts has reached me from quarters totally unconnected with your peculiar religious persuasion, and most unjustly should I act, did I not express to you my feelings on the subject.

I am fully sensible that the Missionaries of this island, of all persuasions, are now looked upon in a totally different light from what they were formerly ; and I trust, confidently, that, ere long, a conviction of the utility of religious instruction will render those pious individuals who devote their lives to the promotion of the good cause, as popular as they have heretofore been the reverse.

Such language, proceeding from the representative of the British king, must have been highly gratifying to the estimable men to whom it was addressed, and will be read, we are convinced, by the religious people of this country with feelings of unmingled satisfaction.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

*Anti-Slavery Office, New York,
September 23rd, 1836.*

Dear Sir,

The Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, at its meeting on the 21st inst., in view of the great sin and danger of American Slavery, voted to recommend to all the friends of the oppressed, special humiliation, fasting, and prayer to Almighty God, on the last Monday of October next.

Should this notice reach you in season, we hope many of our British friends will unite their prayers with ours, on that day, that God in his great mercy would quicken the consciences and soften the hearts of American slave-holders; that He would bring his professed church to repentance for the support it is giving to this system of robbery, lust, and murder; and that He would speedily deliver our colored brethren from the double yoke of slavery and prejudice; and our nation from ruin, by the peaceful agency of His own truth.

You will doubtless be pleased to learn, that our Society is greatly enlarging its operations, and especially by increasing the number of its lecturing agents. Heretofore, we have rarely had more than ten or twelve in the field at once. Not that we were satisfied with so small a number, but it seemed impossible to get the men we wanted to cast loose from their quiet moorings, and launch out upon the troubled sea

of this "agitating subject." In vain we called upon distinguished abolitionists in the ministry. They loved the cause, but they would not risk all for it. At last we resolved to send one of our ablest lecturers, Theodore D. Weld, the principal of the Lane Seminary recusants, on a special mission, to press men into the service—a sort of Anti-Slavery recruiting officer. He has already succeeded in enlisting *for the war*, nearly 50 agents of the right sort. Among them are men of the highest powers and the most extensive influence. Nearly all of them will commence their work before the close of October. It is not the intention of the Committee to stop here, but to go on increasing their lecturing corps, till the cause of the slave is carried home to the bosom of every man, woman, and child, that can be reached with God's blessing on human means. How important that, in thus enlarging the scale of our operations, we should humbly resort, in fervent prayer, to the God of the poor and the needy!

May the blessings of the perishing be upon you for your "Slavery in America." Let the world be filled with such publications. You have, ere this, heard of the outrage upon the press of our excellent friend Binney at Cincinnati, perpetrated on the eve of the *first of August*. It is working well for the cause. The paper will reappear in a few days with a greatly increased list of subscribers.

Though I have not the honour to be personally known to you, I feel bold to write myself, with the most affectionate regard, your brother in behalf of the "suffering and the dumb,"

ELIZUR WRIGHT, Jun.
Sec. Dom. Cor. Am. Anti-Slavery Society.

Dear Sir,

You announce on the cover of your new and timely periodical, that while "Slavery in America" is to receive special attention, your work will be open to "Notices of the present state of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world." As I occasionally receive private letters and files of newspapers from the West Indies, a few extracts will probably be deemed acceptable; in which case I shall be happy to furnish them.

The cause of mercy and truth has not yet obtained the ascendant in the Antilles; and, whatever has been hitherto done in its favor, it is my decided conviction, formed on a pretty extensive acquaintance with the subject, that much more remains yet to be accomplished. Slavery has changed its name there, but not its nature; it is the same demon of subtlety and cruelty it ever was; and if its power for mischief be in some little degree restricted, we must not overlook the fact that it still exists, as its numerous and blood-stained trophies will attest.

One of the most painful indications of its remaining power, is to be found in the change it works on educated gentlemen, sent out to fill the office of Stipendiary Magistrates. Whatever may have been the former tenderness of their natures, or the blandness of their manners, no sooner do they tread the shores of the beautiful but afflicted islands of "the far west," than they become the ruthless tormentors of those they were sent to protect—the mere agents of the cruelty which colonial tyrants suggest. That these assertions are not merely wanton and groundless accusations, I could prove by a vast mass of various evidence:—among the more recent, allow me to submit the following. A friend writing from Jamaica, in June last, says, "With respect to the apprenticeship system, it proves anything but salutary. Too many of the Specials, there is reason to fear, are but the mere tools of the planter—the drivers and oppressors of the apprentice. There are, indeed, some honourable exceptions; but it is a gross imposition on the British public, that the exceptions are not on the other side. The monthly reports of the Specials give no account of the commitments to the *workhouse* (to be worked in chains!) or to the *treadmill*! These returns ought to be given to the public, and the

offences inquired into, together with the manner in which cases are heard and adjudicated."

In confirmation of this gentleman's statement, it would be only necessary to transcribe from the Jamaica Watchman, which I have before me, the details of the Special Justices' Monthly Reports; but as these would be too lengthy (though nothing would more certainly rouse the public indignation), I must content myself with a summary. The total number of lashes "laid on," as the award of the Specials, in the present year, in several months, is as follows:—March, 6180; April, 2885; May, 4074; June, 6844; or 19,983 for four months! In the list of Specials, there are some who enjoy an unenviable precedence, who have attained a bad pre-eminence, in this sanguinary employ. For instance, during these same four months, R. St. John reports himself to have awarded 1181 lashes; E. D. Baynes, 1199; J. R. Thomas, 1960, and F. Moresby, 1981: making a total of 6321! These gentlemen leave their competitors in the blood-stained course far in the distance. They may congratulate themselves on mangling bodies and inflicting tortures, in a ratio far higher than their companions in office, and which may well entitle them to an immortality of fame, on the same historical page with Nero and Caligula.

And is it for this we have paid our twenty millions sterling? Is it for this our Wilberforces and Buxtons have laboured in Parliament? Is it for this our pastors and churches have combined in prayerful exertion, through the length and breadth of the land? Is it for this our missionaries have been made the occupants of loathsome gaols, and the companions of felons? It is surely high time to open our eyes to all the dreadful reality of the case; and to seek, by the most prompt and energetic measures, the restriction of the tyrant's power, and consequent alleviation of the sufferer's woes.

You will, Sir, probably hear from me again on this subject. In the meantime you have my most ardent wishes for success, in the prosecution of your benevolent purposes, and my most ardent prayers that, throughout the world, oppression may cease, and give way to the reign of universal good-will and charity.

M. R. L.

Dear Sir,

The following extracts are from letters received from my brothers-in-law, resident at the time in New York. The first is a minister of the reformed Presbyterians.

"Amid much that is encouraging, both in civil and sacred matters, on this side the

Atlantic, we are not without our sources of annoyance. The principal one is, that accursed system of slavery, that poisons and defiles all that it touches. There is, and has been ever since I came to the country, a great and growing excitement on this question. The deep and widely-extended roots which the infernal plant has struck in this land, render honest dealing on [the subject much more difficult than in the old country. * *

The worst feature about American Slavery is, the connexion which it maintains with the Christian Church. There are many ministers, Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian, who hold slaves, aye, sell slaves—what say you to that? I tell you, my brother, there is an awful responsibility resting on the churches of Britain, in regard to their brethren in this country. I was rejoiced to see the way in which the Secession took up the point in their letter to the Dutch Church. The Baptists had done something of the same kind; but the letter would seem to have been intercepted by some of the trimmers, and its force broken. Strike again and again. With God's help I will second you. We are growing like the Christians of old."

The next is of more recent date. "I was much pleased to see, that the men of Bir-

mingham are moving in earnest in the cause of the apprentices, the quondam slaves, I hope their efforts will be crowned with success. The cause of abolition continues to prosper here. We had a very interesting meeting at our anniversary. Gerrit Smith, an excellent specimen of a right-hearted republican, spoke on the occasion. I send you a few "Emancipators," to let you see how the good work moves onward. The light of truth is rapidly dispelling the prejudice which exists here against the black man. The church here is the "pillar and ground" of slavery. Until Zion shall "display a banner for truth" on this question, declaring slavery to be sin, we have little reason to anticipate the freedom of the slave. When the churches in Britain send their annual letters, they should request that they be published entire, as they uniformly keep out the part which touches the "delicate subject" of slavery. The Baptists fight nobly for right to deal in the "bones and blood of living men." The Presbyterian church have elected a SLAVE-HOLDING minister to be Moderator in their General Assembly now sitting! What shall the end of these things be?"

Yours, &c.,

Birmingham.

THOMAS SWAN.

THE BEAUTY OF LIBERTY.

In all things that have beauty, there is nothing to man more comely than Liberty.—Milton.

When the dance of the shadows
At day-break is done,
And the cheeks of the morning
Are red with the sun;
When he sinks in his glory
At eve from the view;
And calls up the planet
To blaze in the blue;
There is beauty. But where is the beauty
to see
More proud than the sight of a nation when
free?

When the beautiful bend
Of the bow is above,
Like a collar of light
On the bosom of love;
When the moon in her mildness
Is floating on high,
Like a banner of silver
Hung out in the sky;
There is beauty. But earth has no beauty
to see
More proud than the front of a nation when
free?

In the depth of the darkness,
Unvaried in hue,
When shadows are veiling
The breast of the blue;
When the voice of the tempest
At midnight is still,

And the spirit of solitude
Sobs on the hill;
There is beauty. But where is the beauty
to see
Like the broad-beaming brow of a nation
when free?

In the breath of the morning
When nature's awake,
And calls up the chorus
To chant in the break;
In the voice of the echo
Unbound in the woods,
In the warbling of streams
And the foaming of floods;
There is beauty. But where is the beauty
to see
Like the thrice lallowed sight of a nation
that's free?

When the striving of surges
Is mad on the main,
Like the charge of the column
Of plumes on the plain;
When the thunder is up
From his cloud-cradled sleep,
And tempest is treading
The path of the deep;
There is beauty. But where is the beauty
to see
Like the sun-brilliant brow of a nation
when free?

R E V I E W.

The Cruel Nature and Injurious Effects of the Foreign Slave Trade. Represented in a Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Brougham and Vaux. By THOMAS ROBERTS, Baptist Minister, Bristol. 8vo. pp. 40. 1836.

This is a well-timed pamphlet, worthy of extensive circulation. The people of this country have so long been accustomed to regard the slave-trade as a traffic of by-gone days, that many of them will be startled at the horrifying details which Mr. Roberts furnishes. His pamphlet is full of materials, deeply and painfully absorbing. No man of tender nerves, or of morbid sensibility, should attempt to peruse it. Such persons will be shocked at the atrocities it describes, or their delicacy will be offended at the strong, impassioned, but most righteous denunciation which it levels at the dealer in human flesh, whether found amongst the churches of America, or treading the blasted soil of Africa. Our limits will not permit us to indulge in extended quotations. We must, however, make two or three, in the hope that they will excite our readers to procure the pamphlet itself. The following account of the extent to which the barbarous traffic is still carried on will surprise many.

It appears that, from January the 1st, 1820, to the end of the year 1834, a period of only fourteen years, nearly one million wretched victims were dragged from their native land and conveyed to Brazil alone. A number exceeding the whole of the slaves liberated in the English Colonies, by almost two hundred thousand. In the short space of one year, fifteen thousand negroes were imported from Africa into the Havannah—a small port in the island of Cuba. Not less than one hundred thousand are taken annually from the African coast, and conveyed to different destinations. The average number of those who die on the passage, amounts to ten out of each hundred; so that the lives of not less than ten thousand human beings are yearly sacrificed in the vessels employed in the foreign slave trade. The average number of ships, which sail annually from Cuba, amounts to almost fifty, and which return with their enslaved cargoes to that island. The generality of these vessels commit piracy on the outward-bound passage, plundering

merchant ships, and frequently murdering the crews. In every African river, where slaves can be obtained, these vessels may be constantly seen receiving, and sailing with them, from thence to the Cuba and Brazilian shores.

Again, says Mr. Roberts,

It is, indeed, lamentable to reflect, that such a system can be found to exist in the world, but it is indescribably infamous that this murderous traffic should be carried on, to a great degree, by the means of British capital. Mr. Innes, in an admirable letter to Lord Glenelg, proves the disgraceful fact. The English mercantile agents, at Rio, are constantly receiving goods from this country in British vessels, which they re-ship in a foreign slaver, whose captain or owner is authorized to barter on the African coast for human beings; from thence he returns to Brazil with his cargo, to the same agents who cause the slaves to be sold, and the profit to be paid to the merchants residing in this country. It is by no means an uncommon occurrence, for vessels cleared out from a British port professedly for South America, and, although at the risk of the loss of insurance, to proceed from England direct to the Coast of Africa, where they barter their freight for slaves, and sail from thence with them to the very port for which the ship was at first cleared out at the English Custom-House.

A considerable part of the pamphlet is devoted to the case of America, the inconsistency and wickedness of whose Christian slave dealers are exposed with an unsparing hand. Our author is one of those men who cannot write calmly, when pleading the cause of suffering, groaning, dying humanity. For this he will probably be condemned by some whose hearts are unsusceptible of strong and generous impulses. But we applaud his zeal; and the blessing of them who are ready to perish will be his reward. We must close our critique with the following extract, on the measures which should be adopted to put down this diabolical traffic.

The average number of slave ships taken by our cruisers, is one out of twelve; and so profitable is the vile traffic, that a merchant engaged in it is perfectly satisfied if he can clear two voyages out of three, as

his gain on the former would then amount nearly to two hundred per cent. Mixed commissioned courts have been established in those places to which slave ships, when captured, are usually sent, and which are empowered to dispose of them with their cargoes, officers, and crew, according to law. The vessel is condemned and sold, whilst probably the purchaser is an agent for the owner from whom she has been taken, or for some similar miscreant, who sends her again to the coast of Africa in the same illegal trade. The officers and crew are sentenced to imprisonment, from which the captain immediately liberates himself for three or four doubloons, the mates for a less sum, and the foremast men for a few dollars each. The negroes removed from the captured ships are ordered to be apprenticed for a short time, to qualify them for free colonial cultivation; but it is notorious, that they are invariably driven into the interior of the country, and re-sold for slaves. The English people are delighted with the efforts of our government to end this inhuman trade, and read with ecstasy the success of our naval commanders commissioned to prevent it, whilst the dealer in human beings laughs at the mummery, and proceeds undismayed in his cruel career.

Ineffectual hitherto as all the means have proved to destroy the slave trade, and difficult as the accomplishment of so desirable an object may still appear, there are measures yet untried, which, if enforced, would quickly annihilate this base traffic. It ought to be declared piracy by the united consent of all nations, and every slave vessel as such should be liable to be seized by the ships of every country, commissioned for the purpose. Tribunals, consisting of upright and decisive judges, should be appointed at convenient localities, to which the piratical officers and crew should be sent for trial; and when convicted, not any consideration should prevent their execution within twenty-four hours after condemnation—the same time which the law of England allows a murderer to live after he has received sentence of death. The operation of this law would

probably, in some instances, induce the crew of a slave ship to fight most desperately, rather than submit to be taken as pirates; knowing that whether they resisted, and a capture ensued, or yielded without any struggle, death in either case would be their inevitable portion. Under these circumstances, a proper distinction might mark the aggravated crime of resistance. The commanders of our cruisers should be instructed to receive the negroes on board of his Majesty's ship, and immediately to execute summary justice, by sinking the piratical vessel with her officers and crew, not allowing any of them to escape. If it should appear incompatible with either room, health, or safety, to take the slaves on board of cruiser, and the preservation of the vessel in which they were taken be necessary for the conveyance of them to their legal destination, the commissioned commander should be directed to execute the pirates at the yard-arm of his Majesty's ship, as early as possible after their capture. Every government, forming a party to the treaty, that declares the slave trade to be piracy, should be required to commission its proportionate number of ships to prevent the traffic; and these should sail under similar orders to those delivered to British cruisers. Suitable pay and prize-remuneration ought to be allowed to our officers and men, if successful, to excite their diligence and activity in the service. The owners of the slave ships, and such merchants as embark their capital in the detestable trade, should, when detected, be held accountable for their conduct. At present, these guilty adventurers are exposed only to trifling consequences. The wretch in Cuba who charts his vessels in this traffic, if she be captured, never suffers more punishment than the condemnation of her in a mixed commissioned court. The capital embarked in this horrid trade by a British merchant, subjects him merely to a small diminution of property by the loss of his cargo, if the vessel be seized—and this is the only consequence which at present is attached to his infamous speculation.

RESOLUTIONS ON THE SUBJECT OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

OUR space this month prevents our inserting more than the subjoined Resolutions of the United Associate Synod. This body represents the "United Secession" in Great Britain, which comprehends about 350 Congregations and 22 Presbyteries, including the far greater part of the Dissenting Presbyterian Churches, of Scotland. The resolutions, together with a letter which accompanied them, were drawn up in conformity with the following motion, unani-

mously adopted by the Synod on the 21st of April last. "That the Synod shall appoint a Committee to prepare a draft of an affectionate, respectful, and faithful address to the Christian churches in the United States of America, in reference to the evils of negro slavery, and of the prejudices against color, as these exist in the United States; and the obligations under which Christians are placed, to adopt immediate measures for the emancipation of this long oppressed class of their fellow-countrymen." We regret our inability to notice the letter embodying these resolutions. It is mild in its tone, courteous in its forms of expression, yet decided in its principles, and awakening in its appeals to the heart and conscience of the people addressed. As it is published under the title of *An Address on Negro Slavery, to the Christian Churches in the United States of America, by the United Associate Synod*, our readers may obtain it for themselves. The resolutions are as follows:—

1. That we hold, as one "of those things that are most surely believed among us," that the treating of human beings as property, without an express permission from Him who is the supreme proprietor, is utterly repugnant to the principles both of reason and revelation—equally inconsistent with the law of justice and of love—an outrage on human nature, and an insult to its Author.

2. That, believing that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth," and that "in Christ Jesus" all believers are, in relation, and character, and privilege, "one," without respect to distinction of color, any more than of origin, or sex, or age, or station, we maintain that all men yielding obedience to the laws of civil society have an equal right to the secure enjoyment of life, liberty, and property; that all Christians yielding obedience to the law of Christ are equally entitled to the joint participation of all the ordinances appointed for the members of the church; and that it is the duty of the followers of Jesus to "honour all men, and to 'love the brotherhood,'" and to express these sentiments by a corresponding conduct.

3. That we contemplate—with deep sorrow and regret, the enormous guilt which our own nation has contracted by the practices of holding and trading in slaves; practices persisted in for a long course of years, notwithstanding the clearest exposition of their impiety, injustice, inhumanity, and impolicy—with devout wonder, the forbearance of God in not having shown his righteous displeasure, by involving in common ruin those who perpetrated, and those who permitted, such enormous crimes—and with lively gratitude, first to God, and then to the benevolent men whom he honoured as the instruments of his mercy, those two great national measures—the legislative abolition of the British slave trade, by declaring that traffic to be felony, and the

legislative abolition of slavery throughout the colonies of Great Britain.

4. That, while we cherish a fraternal esteem and affection for Christians and Christian churches in every land—for "all who in every place call on the name of the Lord Jesus, both theirs and ours," we regard with peculiar interest the Christians and Christian churches of the United States of America—not so much because many of these Christians are sprung from a common ancestry, and many of these Christian churches both hold the same doctrinal sentiments, and maintain the same ecclesiastical polity with ourselves—as for their distinguished zeal, energy, and perseverance in "works of faith and labours of love"—for the unprecedented exertions they are making for the universal and thorough Christianization of their own country and of the world.

5. That, in proportion to the esteem and affection with which we regard the Christians and Christian churches of the United States of America, are the astonishment and grief with which we have heard that, among the members, and even among the office-bearers of some of these churches, are to be found proprietors of, and even dealers in, slaves—that not only private individuals, but some ecclesiastical bodies, have engaged in a shocking, though happily hopeless, attempt to reconcile these monstrous practices with the law of God and the gospel of Jesus Christ; and that to such an extent does the irrational and unchristian prejudice connected with these practices prevail, that, not merely in the ordinary intercourse of society, but even in the most sacred institutions of religion, men of color are treated as if they belonged to an inferior species—acknowledged, indeed, to be fellow-Christians, yet dealt with as if they were not fellow-men.

6. That we greatly rejoice to know that just sentiments on these subjects are not only held by many individual Christians in the United States, but are clearly and for-

cibly expressed in the symbolical books of some of the churches, and that there is a rapidly increasing conviction of the reality and magnitude of the evils specified, manifesting itself in vigorous exertions for their complete removal; and, although sensible of the numerous and powerful obstacles which our Christian brethren, both in their political and ecclesiastical capacity, have to surmount in order to their success in this sacred enterprise, we confidently trust, that by the blessing of God on the faithful statement of Christian truth, and the impartial exercise of Christian discipline, these unseemly stains on the fair character of American Christianity will be wiped away, and so powerful an influence be exercised by a purified church over the national mind, as shall secure ere long the legislative abolition of slavery throughout the whole territory of a people, the liberality of whose political institutions gives them so high a place among the nations, while it contrasts so strangely with the permission of slavery and the slave-trade; and hopefully anticipate that the degradation of character which is said to belong to men of color in the United States, and the contempt and dislike which have alternately been the cause and the effect of that degradation, will not long survive the dissolution of the unnatural state of society in which they both originate.

7. That disclaiming, as fellow-servants of a common Master, all disposition, as well as

right, uncharitably to judge or magisterially to dictate—remembering that “every man must give an account of HIMSELF to God,” and hoping that our Christian brethren in America will not be backward either to receive or to return, when circumstances shall seem to them to require it, the kind office of faithful admonition, we are constrained, by the love we bear to our Lord, the regard we have for his authority, the jealousy we feel for the honour of his name, and the desire we cherish for the prosperity of his cause, as well as by our cordial affection for brethren, for whom “we labour fervently in our prayers that they may stand perfect and complete in all the will of God,” to strengthen their hands, and encourage their hearts in the arduous but honourable work to which our Lord is now loudly calling them, by urging them by the regard we know they have for the authority of God, the grace of the Saviour, the honour of Christianity, and the salvation of the world, to employ the mighty influence which God has given them, and which brings along with it a corresponding weight of responsibility, in loosing “the bands of wickedness, undoing the heavy burdens, letting the oppressed go free, taking away from the midst of them the yoke, and the putting forth of the finger,” that so “their light,” which has already “gone forth as the morning,” “may shine more and more unto the perfect day.”

PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOR AT THE LORD'S TABLE.

MR. EDITOR.—A few Sabbaths since, I witnessed the following most heart-rending scene, at the communion-table of our ascended Lord. The ordinance was delivered to the communicants as they came up and knelt around the altar. Twenty or more could kneel around it at a time. One class came up, knelt and received the ordinance, and were bid depart in peace. A second class came, received the ordinance, and were told to depart in peace. A third class came, and were received in a similar way. A fourth class came; there were eight or ten who came. The minister waited, and urged all to come. Soon two respectable-looking colored females detached themselves from the congregation, walked down the aisle, went around to one end of the altar, away from the rest, and were about to kneel. The minister at this time saw them, and checked them, and motioned them away

to a pew. They departed, looking sorrowful and heart-broken. The communicants were ordered to depart in peace. “Now,” says the minister, “if there are any of our colored friends who wish to come, they can come.” The two colored ladies modestly and meekly took their place at the altar. In a cold, indifferent way the sacrament was administered. The minister turned from them as soon as they had received it, and left them kneeling, without repeating the usual form, “Depart in peace,” &c. At length they rose and departed.

Dear brother, what shall be said of this? Are there no prejudices against color? Must there be a distinction at the altar of God? Will God's dear children be distinguished by their color in the grave? At the bar of God? In heaven? C.

From the Friend of Man.

Slavery in America.

No. VI.—DECEMBER, 1836.

EAST INDIA SLAVERY.

No. I.

THE people of this country have been grossly deluded into the belief that slavery has ceased throughout their dominions. Many of them are totally ignorant of the fact, that it ever had an existence in any other part of the empire than that to which the Abolition Act of 1834 related; and others, who were acquainted with its existence on the continent of India, imagined that it was totally abolished by the act renewing the East India charter in 1833. All classes of the community have consequently spoken of slavery as defunct, and we have begun to address ourselves to the reflecting and virtuous of other nations, in order to stimulate them to an imitation of our example. Yet the state of the case turns out to be vastly different from what we had imagined. To say nothing of the pseudo-freedom which has been granted to the negro population of the West India colonies, *slavery still exists in the British Empire, and is producing to a vast extent its genuine results of degradation, misery, and crime.* The remote position of the continent of India, and the little which has hitherto been known in this country of the institutions, habits, and character of its population, fully account for the ignorance which generally prevails of the existence of this fearful scourge amongst some of its tribes. It is more difficult to account for the erroneous impression made upon the leaders of the abolition party respecting the bearing of the East India charter of 1833 on the extinction of slavery. Even Mr. Buxton, the faithful and untiring advocate of human freedom, partook of this impression, as appears by some remarks which he made in his place in parliament, when informed by Sir J. C. Hobhouse, that nothing had yet been done for the extinction of slavery in our eastern dominions. The parliamentary leader of the abolitionists is reported to have said on that occasion, "that his impression at the time of the passing of the charter, was, that slavery was to be abolished in India;" adding, that "if that was an erroneous impression, the fact would create a strong feeling throughout this country."

It would be idle now to inquire how this impression was obtained. We have a more important question to solve, and to that we must address ourselves. The existence of slavery is admitted. In one remote portion of our empire it yet finds a lurking place. It there revels in impunity, free from the observation of the enlightened, and protected by the indolence and selfishness of the resident authorities. British Christians, shall it continue? To you we make our appeal, and humanity and religion enforce it. You determined the issue of our former struggle; may we not calculate on your aid in this? Take up, then, again the weapons by which you carried the colonial question. Let information be circulated, let public meetings be held, and the attention of parliament be invited to the subject. As great a mass of human wretchedness now claims your pity as formerly nerved your hearts to generous and successful effort. The Anti-Slavery societies of England and Scotland will here find an appropriate and honourable field for exertion. Their triumph is incomplete, their object unattained, while a single British subject is recognized as the property, or made to labour merely for the benefit, of his fellow-man. We therefore respectfully, but most earnestly entreat their attention to this subject, and in the meanwhile shall furnish our readers with all the information we can obtain bearing upon it. It is in vain to look to the authorities of India, as Sir J. C. Hobhouse appears to do, for any spontaneous movement on this point. "*Vis inertia*," remarks A. D. Campbell, Esq., in his reply to the Commissioners for Indian Affairs, "hostile to all change, seems inherent in the local governments of India, imbibed perhaps from the people subject to their rule, whose characteristic peculiarity is a tenacity of long-established customs. Even when improvements are suggested by the constituted authorities, the voice of their servants has little weight in favour of new measures. Responsibility is avoided by following the beaten track, and silence is the safest reply to those who propose a deviation from it, even for the sake of humanity. The outcry raised in India against the Suttee was long powerless, until it returned reverberated from the British shore; and that against slavery will continue disregarded, unless it receives support from all the energy of the home government." In perfect accordance with this testimony, the same gentleman remarks, "During the twenty-two years that I resided in India, or since 1808, no material changes have taken place in the condition of the slaves in the territories subject to Madras."

We have now before us a parliamentary paper, ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, on the sixth of March, 1834, which contains important information on the *origin, extent, and character* of slavery, as it exists in our eastern possessions. In our present number we shall confine ourselves to extracts illustrative of the first of these points, reserving the other two for future illustration.

The most important information contained in these papers is furnished by T. H. Baber, Esq., whose residence in India during a period of thirty-two years, and his active employment in every department of the public service, eminently qualify him to give evidence on the subject.

"My duties," says this gentleman, who appears to have been honourably distinguished by his humane and enlightened treatment of a degraded portion of the human family, in replying to the questions of the commissioners, "have also led me to constant official intercourse, upon a variety of subjects, with the political residents at the durbars (courts) of the neighbouring states of Mysore, Coorg, Cochin, and Travancore, some of which related to slaves, either who had been compelled by constant ill-treatment from their masters in Malabar to take refuge in the territories of Coorg or Mysore rajahs, or to slaves who had been kidnapped in Travancore and sold to British subjects, and even to free-born children of various castes of Hindoos, subjects of the Cochin or Travancore rajahs, reduced to slavery in the Honourable Company's dominions, who had been procured by the most fraudulent and violent means, and deprived of their caste by cutting off the lock of hair (the distinguishing mark of their caste) by making them eat prohibited food, and by otherwise disguising and polluting them.

"By these means, as well as by personal inquiries, when I have visited the adjacent districts of the neighbouring states of Mysore, Coorg, Cochin, and Travancore, or when business or pleasure has brought the respectable natives of those countries to where I have been in authority, I have become acquainted, amongst other subjects of interest, with the prevailing 'slavery' throughout, I may say, the western provinces south of the Kistna to the extremity of the Indian continent, Cape Comorin, or properly Kanya Coomari.

"In all the countries above enumerated, the varieties and sources of domestic slavery are very numerous; namely, those persons who are the offspring or descendants of free-born persons captured during wars; out-caste Hindoos, who had been sold into slavery under or by former governments; kidnapped persons brought by bungarries and other travelling merchants from distant inland states, and sold into slavery; persons reported from the ports in the Persian Gulf, in the Red Sea, or from the African coast; persons sold, when children, by their own parents in times of famine or great dearth; the offspring of illegitimate connexions, that is, of cohabitation between low-caste Hindoo men and Brahmin women, and generally between Hindoos of different castes, or within the prohibited degrees of kindred; persons who, in consideration of a sum of money, or in discharge of a security for the payment of a debt, have bound themselves, by a voluntary contract, to servitude, either for life or a limited period, all which have in former times, or do now prevail, more or less, wherever domestic slavery is found, but chiefly in the southern Mahratta country, both in the Company's and Jagheer portion of it, and in the Kolapore rajah's dominions; also in those of Coorg and Mysore."^{*}

British cupidity appears to have aggravated the horrors of slavery in the East as well as elsewhere. Not content with perpetuating a state of society so incompatible with human virtue and happiness, many of the agents of the East India Company seem to have regarded the slave population as mere beasts of burden, without social affections or moral capabilities.

"How or whence," says Mr. Baber, "this oppressive and cruel practice, not only of selling slaves off the estate where they were born and bred, but actually of separating husbands and wives, parents and children, and thus severing all the nearest and dearest associations and ties of our common nature, originated,

it would be difficult to say; but I have no doubt, and never had in my own mind, that it has derived support, if not its origin, from that impolitic measure, in 1798, of giving authority to the late Mr. Murdoch Brown, while overseer of the Company's plantations in Malabar, upon the representation of 'the difficulties he experienced,' even with 'the assistance of the tehsildar,' (the head native authority), and 'his own peons,' (armed persons, with badges of office), 'to procure workmen,' and 'of the price of free labour being more than he was authorized to give,' to purchase indiscriminately as many slaves as he might require to enable him to carry on the works of that plantation; and of actually issuing orders to the European as well as to the native local authorities, to assist him (Mr. Brown), and even to restore slaves who had run away, and returned to their homes, (without any orders to inquire the reason of their absconding), and who, as has since been ascertained from the surviving slaves themselves, had been actually kidnapped by the darogha (head police officer of Chowghaut, in the southern parts of Malabar people), and sent up to North Malabar to Mr. Brown, which person had continued, up to 1811, or for a period of twelve years, under this alleged authority, granted by the Bombay government, to import slaves and free-born children from the Cochin and Travancore states, when by the merest accident this nefarious traffic came to my knowledge, and which, after considerable opposition on the part of the provincial Court of Circuit, I succeeded in putting a stop to, after having restored to liberty and their country 123 persons who had been stolen, of whom 71 were actually found in Mr. Brown's possession."^{*}

Colonel James Welsh, who had resided many years in the East Indies, gives a similar view of the origin of the slavery existing there.

"Great numbers," he says, "used formerly to be kidnapped from a distance, and sold by dealers for both domestic and agrestic purposes. Others are born of parents in a state of slavery. Many have been and still are sold in infancy, by parents and relations, particularly in times of famine and scarcity, to any one who will purchase them; and others used to be captured in war, particularly by Mahomedan conquerors."[†]

The testimony of A. D. Campbell, Esq., a resident in India during twenty-two years, and who occupied successively several important civil and judicial stations, is to the same effect.

"In the territories under the Madras government," he says, "slaves are of two distinct descriptions; the one includes the great slave population termed 'agrestic slaves,' or such as are usually employed in the field, though occasionally also in other labour. These consist exclusively of Hindoos, who become such by birth alone, in the peculiar castes which the usage of India has doomed to hereditary bondage. This species of slavery does not exist at all in the central provinces of the Indian peninsula, such as the Ceded Districts, or Mysore, peopled by the Carnatacka nation; and I believe it is also unknown in the Northern Circars, Nellore, &c., or in the country where the people speak the Telinga language; but it is common in the southern provinces of the peninsula, or wherever the Tamil language is spoken, and it assumes its worst form on the western coast of the peninsula, or in the provinces of Malabar and Canara. The other description of slaves consists of those who may be termed domestic, from

being employed only in the house itself. This kind of slavery may be found all over the Madras territory, but is exceedingly rare. Individuals generally become domestic slaves by being sold when children by their parents, in years of scarcity approaching to famine; for famine itself, in the British territories, is happily now nearly unknown. A Hindoo, however, who buys a child on such an occasion, treats it as a Briton would; not as a slave, but rather as a servant to whom food and raiment are due, and whose wages have been advanced to maintain the existence of the authors of its being, authorized by nature to contract for its service until it is old enough to confirm or cancel such compact. The text of the Hindoo law, as well as its practice, clearly maintains such compacts to be temporary only, for it expressly mentions the gift of two head of cattle as annulling them, and entitling the child to legal emancipation; but such fine is entirely nominal; it is never practically exacted; and on the child attaining maturity it is, in practice, as free amongst the Hindoos as amongst Britons, unless long habit or attachment induces it voluntarily to acquiesce in a continuation of its service. The Mussulman law acknowledges the legality of treating as slaves all infidels conquered by the faithful; but its text is entirely opposed to the purchase of free children for the purpose of reducing them to a state of bondage; yet, in practice, compacts such as are described above, confer permanent rights on the Mahomedan purchaser; for, under the spirit of proselytism which characterizes the Mussulman's faith, a male infant is no sooner purchased than it is circumcised; and, whether male or female, it is invariably brought up in the Mahomedan creed, which, if it be a Hindoo (as is usually the case), irrevocably excludes it from all return to its parents or relations. Besides the purchase of children in years of scarcity, I have heard of natives, to cancel a debt, voluntarily selling themselves as domestic slaves for a certain number of years, but this is unusual; and though classed as a species of servitude, it more resembles that of persons serving under written articles in Europe, than slavery of even the most qualified description. There can also be no doubt that children are sometimes kidnapped and sold as slaves, without the knowledge of their parents. As superintendent of police at Madras, I succeeded in 1818 in restoring several such children to their parents, amongst the lowest and poorest of the Hindoos; and their anxiety to recover infants, whom they in all probability found it very difficult to support, would have done honour to the highest classes of European society. I may add, that from Malabar, a province on the western coast of the peninsula, where the ancient institutions of the Hindoo government have descended to our own times nearly unimpaired, I recollect one trial having come before the Sudder Foujdary Court in 1830, in which the members of a high-caste Hindoo family, to conceal the disgrace to which they would have been exposed from retaining one of the daughters whose chastity was more than suspected, forcibly carried her off to a distant province, where they were taken up, on account of endeavouring to dispose of her as a domestic slave.*

We shall resume this subject next month, and, in the meantime, shall be gratified by receiving any communications which may serve to throw light upon it. It is only for the extent and character of the evil to be generally known, and its doom will speedily be pronounced by the British public.

* Pages 30, 31.

RELIGIOUS STATE OF THE SLAVE POPULATION IN SOUTH CANADA AND GEORGIA.

The following "*facts*" are stated in a "Report of the *Synod of South Carolina and Georgia*, to whom was referred the subject of the *Religious Instruction of the colored population*, at its late session, in Columbia, S. C. Published by order of the Synod," in the Charleston Observer of March 22, 1834.

"From long continued and close observation," say the Synod by their committee, "we believe that their (the colored population's) moral and religious condition is such, as that they may justly be considered the *heathen of this Christian country, and will bear comparison with heathen in any country in the world.*

"Before we attempt to set forth the duty [to evangelize these heathen] it will be proper to show, *that the negroes are destitute of the privileges of the gospel, and ever will be, under the present state of things.* There were some exceptions to this, they say, and they 'rejoice' in it; but, although our assertion is broad, we believe that, in general, it will be found to be correct.

"A people may be said to enjoy the privileges of the gospel, when they have, 1st, free access to the Scriptures; 2nd, a regular gospel ministry; 3rd, houses for public worship; 4th, the means of grace in their own dwellings. In relation to the first of these—*free access to the Scriptures*—it is universally the fact throughout the slave-holding states, that either custom or law prohibits to them the acquisition of letters, and consequently they can have no access to the Scriptures; * * * so that they are dependent for their knowledge of Christianity upon *oral instruction*; as much so as the unlettered heathen, when first visited by our missionaries.

"Have they, then, that amount of oral instruction which, in their circumstances, is necessary to their enjoyment of the gospel? In other words, have they a regular and efficient ministry? *They have not.* In the vast field extending from an entire state beyond the Potomac to the Sabine river; and from the Atlantic to the Ohio, there are, to the best of our knowledge, not *twelve* men exclusively devoted to the religious instruction of the negroes! * * * The number [two millions of souls, and more] divided between them, would give to each a charge of near 170,000!

"As to ministers of their *own color*, they are destitute infinitely both in point of numbers and qualifications: to say nothing of the fact that such a ministry is looked upon with distrust, and is discountenanced by the present state of feeling in the South, *such a ministry could neither be obtained nor tolerated.*

"But do not the negroes have access to the gospel, through the stated ministry of the whites? We answer, No! The white population itself is but partially supplied with ministers; such being the fact, what becomes of the colored? And the question may be asked with still greater emphasis, when we know that it has not been customary for our ministers when they accept calls for settlement, to consider servants as a regular part of their charge. * * If we take the supply of ministers to the whites now in the field, the amount of their labours in behalf of the negroes is small." Something has been done towards the "religious instruction of the negroes; but we venture the assertion, that if we take the whole number of ministers in the slaveholding states, *but a very small portion pay any attention to them.* * * * No effort is made to draw them out to church—but let them "come to hear the preaching of ministers to

white congregations, and such is the elevation of their language, &c. * * * they might as well preach in Hebrew or Greek. The negroes do not understand them. Hence their stupid looks, &c. * * * and their *thin attendance*. * * * The whole (of the negroes), professors and non-professors, are low in the scale of intelligence and morality; and we are astonished thus to find Christianity in absolute conjunction with HEATHENISM, and yet conferring few or no benefits!" They proceed: "The negroes have no regular and efficient ministry; as a matter of course, *no churches, neither is there sufficient room in white churches for their accommodation*.

"We know of but *five* churches in the slave-holding States built expressly for their use. These are *all* in the State of Georgia—all under colored pastors, in connexion with the Baptist Association, excepting one, which has been erected within the *past year*, by a Presbyterian clergyman, a member of this Synod, at his own expense—an expense of three or four hundred dollars; and he supplies the pulpit himself gratuitously.

"The galleries or back seats on the lower floor, of white churches, are generally appropriated to the negroes, when it can be done with convenience to the whites; otherwise, the negroes who attend must catch the gospel as it escapes by the doors and windows.

"We can furnish no accurate estimate of the proportion of negroes that attend divine worship on the sabbath, taking the slave-holding states together. From an extensive observation, however, we venture to say, that not a *twentieth part attend!* *Thousands and thousands hear not the sound of the gospel, or ever enter a church from one year to another.*

"We may now inquire if they enjoy the privileges of the gospel, in private, in their own houses, and on their own plantations? Again we return a negative answer. They have no Bibles to read at their own fire-sides—no family altars—and when in affliction, sickness, or death, they have no minister to address to them the consolations of the gospel, nor to bury them with solemn and appropriate services. Sometimes a kind master will perform these offices. If the master is pious, the house servants *alone* attend family worship, and *frequently few or none of these.*

"*Here and there* a master feels interested for the salvation of his servants, and is attempting something towards it, &c. We rejoice that there are such, and that the number is increasing. In general, we may however remark, *that it does not enter into the arrangement of plantations, to make provision for their religious instruction; and so far as masters are engaged in this work, an almost unbroken silence reigns over the vast field.*

"We feel warranted, therefore, in the conclusion, that the negroes are *destitute of the privileges of the gospel, and must continue to be so*, if nothing more is done for them."

SLAVE MARKET AT NATCHES, ADAM'S COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI.

The following account of the mode of buying and selling slaves at the South, is from a work entitled, "The South-West, by a Yankee." Hail, Columbia, happy land!

I accompanied a friend, (a planter) to the slave-market, which is situated about a mile from the city. It is composed of a cluster of rough wooden build-

ings, in the angle of two roads, in front of which, several saddle horses, either tied or held by servants, indicated a place of popular resort.

Alighting, we left our horses in charge of a neatly dressed yellow boy belonging to the establishment. Entering through a wide gate into a narrow courtyard, partially enclosed by low buildings, a scene of a novel character was at once presented. A line of negroes, commencing at the entrance with the tallest, who was no more than five feet eight or nine inches in height—for negroes are a low, rather than a tall race of men—down to a little fellow of about ten years of age, extended in a semicircle around the right side of the yard. There were in all about forty. With their hats in their hands, which hung down by their sides, they stood perfectly still, and in close order, while some gentlemen were passing from one to another examining for the purpose of buying. With the exception of displaying their teeth when addressed, and rolling their great white eyes about the court, they were so many statues of the most glossy ebony. As we entered the mart, one of the slave merchants approached us, saying, "Good morning, gentlemen! Would you like to examine my lot of boys? I have us fine a lot as ever came into market." We approached them, one of us as a curious spectator, the other as a purchaser; and as my friend passed along the line, with a scrutinizing eye—giving that singular look peculiar to the buyer of slaves as he glanced from head to foot over each individual—the passive subjects of his observations betrayed no other signs of curiosity than that evinced by an occasional glance. The entrance of a stranger into the mart is by no means an unimportant event to the slaves, for every stranger may soon become his master and command his future destinies. But slaves are seldom strongly affected by any circumstance, and their reflections never give them much uneasiness. To the generality of them, life is mere animal existence, passed in physical exertion or enjoyment. This is the case with the field-hands in particular, and more so with the females than the males, who through long life seldom see any other person than their master or overseer, or any other gentleman's dwelling than the "great hus," the "white house" of these domestic empires in which they are subjects. To this class, a change of masters is a matter of indifference; they are handed from one to the other with the passiveness of a purchased horse. These constitute the lowest rank of slaves, and lowest grade in the scale of the human species.

"For what service particular did you want to buy?" inquired the trader, of my friend. "A coachman." "There is one I think may suit you, Sir," said he; "George, step out here." Forthwith a light-coloured negro, with a fine figure and good face, bating an enormous pair of lips, advanced a step from the line, and looked with some degree of intelligence, though with an air of indifference, upon his intended purchaser.

"How old are you, George?" he inquired. "I don't recollect, Sir, 'xactly—b'lieve I'm somewhere 'bout twenty-drec." "Where were you raised?" "On master R——'s farm in Wirginny." "Then you are a Virginian negro." "Yes, massa, me full blood Wirginny." "Did you drive your master's carriage?" "Yes, massa, I drove ole missus' carriage more dan four years." "Have you a wife?" "Yes, massa, I lef' young wife in Richmond, but I got a new wife here in de lot. I wish you buy her massa, if you gwing to buy me."

Then came a series of the usual questions from the intended purchaser. "Let me see your teeth—your tongue—open your hands—roll up your sleeves—have you a good appetite?—are you good tempered?" "Me get mad sometime," replied George, to the last query, "but neber wid my horses." "What do you

ask for this boy, Sir?" inquired the planter, after putting a few more questions to the unusually loquacious slave. "I have held him at one thousand dollars, but I will take nine hundred and seventy-five cash." The bargain was in a few moments concluded, and my companion took the negro at nine hundred and fifty, giving negotiable paper—the customary way of paying for slaves at four months. It is, however, generally understood, that if servants prove unqualified for the particular service for which they are bought, the sale is dissolved. So there is in general perfect safety in purchasing servants untried, and merely on the warrant of the seller. George, in the meantime, stood by, with his hat in his hand, apparently unconcerned in the negotiations going on, and when the trader said to him, "George, the gentleman has bought you; get ready to go with him," he appeared gratified at the tidings, and smiled upon his companions, apparently quite pleased, and then bounded off to the buildings for his little bundle. In a few minutes he returned and took leave of several of his companions, who having been drawn up into line only to be shown to purchasers, were now once more at liberty, and moving about the court, all the visitors having left except my friend and myself. "You mighty lucky George," said one congratulating him, "to get sol so quick." "Oh, you neber min", Charley," replied the *delighted* George; "your turn come soon too."

"You know who you massa be—whar he live?" said another. "Not 'xactly; he lib on plantation somewhar her 'bout." After taking leave of his companions, George came, hat in hand, very respectfully, to his purchaser, and said, "Young massa, you neber be sorry for buy George; I make you a good servant. But—beg pardon, massa—but—if massa would be so good as buy Jane—" "Who is Jane?" "My wife since I come from Wirginny. She good wife and good girl—she good scamstress and good nurse—make de nice shirts and ebvery ting." "Where is she, George?" "Here she be, massa," said he, pointing to a bright mulatto girl, about eighteen, with a genteel figure and a lively countenance, who was waiting with anxiety the reply of the planter. Opposite to the line of males was also a line of females, extended along the left side of the court. They were about twenty in number, dressed in neat calico frocks, white aprons and capes, and fancy kerchiefs, tied in a mode peculiar to the negroes, upon their heads. Their whole appearance was extremely neat and "tidy." They could not be disciplined to the grave silence observed by the males, but were constantly laughing and chattering with each other in suppressed voices, and appeared to take generally a livelier interest in the transactions in which all were equally concerned. The planter approached this line of female slaves, and inquired of the girl her capabilities as scamstress, nurse, and ironer. Her price was seven hundred and fifty dollars. He said he would take her to his family, and if the ladies were pleased with her, he would purchase her. The poor girl was as much delighted as though already purchased; and, at the command of the trader, went to prepare herself to leave the mart. Some other negroes were purchased, several of whom appeared merely powerful combinations of bone and muscle, and the only idea suggested in the mind, in gazing upon them, was of a remarkable physical energy. In the dull eye and fleshy mouth there was no expression indicative of intellect.

REPORT OF THE PARLIAMENTARY APPRENTICESHIP COMMITTEE.

It was clearly foreseen by the advocates of the immediate and entire emancipation of the slaves in the British colonies, that any measure which fell short of that would either be impracticable, or be administered in the spirit of the old system which it was intended to supersede. In accordance with this view of the case the Anti-Slavery societies memorialized the government, petitioned the legislature, and finally, when defeated in their long-cherished hopes by Lord Stanley's measure, solemnly protested against the course which had been pursued, and threw the whole responsibility of it on his lordship, and those who aided him in clogging the act of freedom with the restriction of the apprenticeship.

Almost immediately after the Slavery Abolition Act went into operation in the colonies it was found by the planters less objectionable than they had supposed. It is true the power of flogging their bondsmen was taken from them, but the power to coerce involuntary labour still continued. It was transferred only; and it was found also by the negroes that their condition, instead of being what they were led to expect, was in some respects worse than before. The planters, therefore, became, in great measure, reconciled to it—the apprentices loathed it.

Information of the most painful character reached this country through a variety of respectable channels, stating that slavery was abolished only in name. So strong were the representations made by the friends of the negroes, that the abolitionists again took the field, and resolved, at a public meeting, held in Exeter Hall, on the 15th of May, 1835, that a committee of inquiry was absolutely necessary to investigate the state of the law and practice under the new system in the colonies. In pursuance of this resolution, Mr. Buxton moved for a committee, on the 19th of June, 1835, which, after an interesting debate, he consented to withdraw, in consequence of certain statements made and pledges given by Sir George Grey.

From that period evidence began to multiply that the colonists were determined to retain as much of the old system as possible; and that, in point of fact, they had, to a great extent, been successful. Mr. Buxton was therefore enabled, in the early part of the last session of parliament, to lay such a case before the House of Commons as to obtain the appointment of a select committee to inquire, &c.

That Committee have directed their attention principally to Jamaica, and have made a report on so much of the evidence laid before them as affects that colony. This report we now present to our readers, as the groundwork for some strictures which we purpose offering in succeeding numbers of our Magazine. At present we merely observe that the perusal of it has produced in our mind a feeling the reverse of satisfaction. We fear that the decision of the committee will operate injuriously on the interests of the negroes; but, when we consider the construction of the committee, composed, as it was, of four representatives of the government,

four interested in West India property, three neutrals, and only four who could be considered as decidedly the friends of the negro, we are not surprised at its general tenor. We rejoice that the evidence accompanies the report, and that, consequently, all who feel interested in this subject will be able to form their own judgment how far the former is justified by the latter. One thing, however, has struck us as not a little singular. It is this; that no member of the Anti-Slavery Society was called on to produce the documentary evidence in illustration of their case, accumulated in their office. If any difficulty existed to the insertion on the minutes of evidence of the private correspondence which they had received, none could possibly exist to the depositions which they possessed. Sir George Grey, we perceive, was permitted to quote largely the correspondence of Lord Sligo with the Colonial office; but that, we shall be told, was official; and to put on record also two letters of the Rev. Mr. Trew, which were private and unofficial. This surely was a precedent which might have been followed in the other case. It may now be a question whether the documents referred to should not be published by the Society; but this we leave for the consideration of its members, and proceed to lay the report itself before our readers.

The Select Committee appointed to inquire into the working of the apprenticeship system in the colonies, the condition of the apprentices, and the laws and regulations affecting them which have been passed, and who were empowered to report their observations thereupon, together with the minutes of the evidence taken before them to the house,—have examined the matters to them referred, and have agreed to the following report:

Your Committee commenced their inquiry by examining the various enactments which have been passed in the colonies by the local legislatures, affecting the condition of the apprentices, with a view to ascertain the manner in which the intention of the Imperial Parliament, as expressed in the Act of Emancipation, have been carried into effect. They soon found, however, that it would be impossible for them to go through the whole subject in a satisfactory manner, during the present session, and determined to limit their investigation to Jamaica; in which colony alone they have obtained evidence sufficiently complete to be fit for them to submit to the house, or to justify them in expressing an opinion. After having attentively considered the objections which had been urged against the Jamaica Acts, your Committee proceeded to obtain such information as was within their reach on the still more important questions connected with the practice, operations, and effects of the system of apprenticeship, which might serve to throw light upon the provisions of the laws which they had previously examined, or enable them to form a judgment of the present condition and future prospects of all classes of the inhabitants of the colony.

Upon the subject of the laws which have been passed in Jamaica, affecting the apprentices, your Committee have examined several gentlemen of the legal profession, whose attention has been directed to them. A very full and minute examination of the objections which have been urged against them will be found in the appendix, especially in the evidence of Mr. Jeremie; a reply to which is contained in that of Mr. Burge, the agent for the island. With reference to this subject, your Committee would also call your attention to the evidence of

Sir George Grey, as affording an important addition to the information which has already been submitted to the house, of the views and conduct of the colonial office, and of the governor of Jamaica, in this respect.

Your committee are not prepared to express an opinion upon all the points which have been made matter of controversy, some of which appear to rest upon legal difficulties of considerable intricacy. They conceive that they shall best discharge their duty by calling the attention of the house to such questions alone as seem to them to involve substantial and practical consequences, as well as important principles.

The chief objections which have been taken to the Jamaica laws, which appeared to your committee to require a more detailed notice, are the following :

1. The want of reciprocity in the amount and application of the penalties inflicted by the authority of the special magistrates on managers and on apprentices.

This objection, as far as regards the application, was noticed by Lord Stanley, in a despatch of the 20th of February, 1834, commenting on the Jamaica Act, in which the following passage occurs :

“The 49th clause enables the special magistrates to impose fines upon the parties entitled to the services of any apprenticed labourer for any wrong or injury which he may sustain from such parties.”

“The 68th clause directs, that these fines shall be applied to the use of the island, as the Act has provided, that the apprentice should compensate by labour the loss which his employer may sustain from indolence, neglect, non-performance of work, or absence, it seems but reasonable that the special magistrate should have the power of compensating out of the fine the apprentice for the injury which he may have sustained from his employer, and I think that a clause should be introduced to that effect.”

No such clause, however, was introduced into the subsequent Act passed by the legislature of Jamaica, in pursuance of Lord Stanley's suggestions ; and Lord Sligo appears to have concurred in the course adopted by the House of Assembly, in reference to that subject.

Your committee are of opinion, that in theory at least, the objection is well-founded, and they are not aware of any satisfactory reason for the omission of the clause recommended by Lord Stanley. No evidence has, however, been submitted to them of practical evil having arisen from this defect, to warrant any further recommendation on this point.

2. The defective constitution of the tribunal, for the valuation of apprentices applying to purchase their freedom.

With reference to this objection, your committee feel themselves bound to state, that a serious obstacle appears to have arisen to the fair and equitable operation of the process of compulsory manumission. It was clearly the intention of the British parliament, that the apprentice should by law enjoy the right of having his services appraised at a fair valuation, at which he should be enabled to purchase his own freedom ; nor can your committee suppose, that the intention of the Jamaica legislature differed in this respect from that of the British parliament. They find, however, that undue and excessive valuations are alleged, on official authority, in many instances to have occurred ; and they cannot but attribute this evil, in a great measure, to the constitution of the tribunal to which the valuation is by law confided ; and which appears to them to give an undue preponderance to colonial magistrates. Although no valuation can take place in which the special magistrate does not concur, it is equally

true that both or either of the colonial magistrates may, by adhering to a higher appraisement than that which the special magistrate thinks just, render the proceeding nugatory. They have reason, however, to believe, that the more common effect in such cases has been, that a value has been set upon the services of the apprentice by a compromise between the respective magistrates.

Your committee find, that this subject has formed the topic of much correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Governor of Jamaica, by whom it was brought at an early period under the consideration of the government. Instructions have been at various times addressed to Lord Sligo, with a view to prevent the continuance of this evil ; and he has recently been directed to suggest to the legislature of Jamaica, such an alteration of the law, as is calculated to place the constitution of the tribunal upon a satisfactory footing. Your committee cannot but express a confident hope, that the legislature of Jamaica will give a prompt attention to this recommendation, which your committee conceive that they are bound, by good faith and every consideration of justice, to carry into full effect.

3. The want of adequate protection to the special magistrates against vexatious prosecutions.

To the principle involved in this objection, your committee attach the utmost importance. They are of opinion, that the beneficial working of the present system and the full protection of the rights of the apprentices, depend even more on the administration of the law, than on the provisions of the law itself. They consider it of the greatest consequence, that the independence of the special magistrates in the discharge of their duty should be effectually maintained ; and that, while they are subject to a vigilant superintendence on the part of the executive government, they should not be exposed to any well-founded apprehension of a want of due protection against vexatious proceedings.

Two cases have been stated to your committee in which actions of trespass have been brought against special magistrates for acts performed in their magisterial capacity, and damages were obtained, which, together with the costs of the action, it would be altogether beyond the means of the defendants to defray. In each case a new trial was expected to take place, and the final decision is not yet ascertained.

Your committee deem it right to observe, that, by an Act passed in Jamaica, in 1834, usually termed the 'Act in Aid,' a protection which was not comprised in the original Act was afforded to the magistrates. This Act expired at the end of 1835, but has been subsequently re-enacted for a period co-extensive with the apprenticeship. The actions referred to were both tried during the interval when this Act was not in force, and its re-enactment may render it improbable, that actions of a similar nature will hereafter be brought.

Your committee have ascertained the intentions of the government in both of these cases in the event of the verdicts being ultimately sustained ; the result will be, the effectual protection of the individual defendants from eventual loss ; but should there be any repetition of actions against special magistrates not appearing to rest on solid foundation, your committee cannot think that the evil would be met of any thing short of some legislative enactment, which would secure any special magistrate acting *bonâ fide* in the discharge of his duty, from harassing and vexatious prosecutions.

The Governor of Jamaica has been directed to bring this subject also under the consideration of the legislature, and your committee abstain from any more

specific recommendation on this point in the hope that the measures already taken for checking the evil, may prove adequate to the attainment of the object.

4. It has been observed, as an objection against the Jamaica law, that it contains no enactment to regulate the distribution of the time which the apprentice is bound weekly to give to his employer. The interpretation put upon the law in this respect in Jamaica negatives the presumption of the legal right on the part of the employer to exact from his apprentice continuous labour to an unreasonable extent, and in practice nine hours appears to be the utmost amount of labour to which the apprentices in Jamaica are subject in one day by compulsory process. Whatever time they may give to their employers beyond this limit appears to be by arrangement, and for remuneration mutually agreed upon. It is, however, universally admitted, that, subject to the qualification before adverted to, the employer has a legal right to apportion the hours of labour, the result has been the want of uniformity in the distribution of the legal time. Two systems are prevalent in Jamaica; the one termed the nine hours' system, by which the apprentice works nine hours a day for four days in the week, and four and a half on the fifth day, having the half of Friday and the whole of Saturday at his own disposal. The other is termed the eight hours' system, by which he works eight hours a day for four days in the week, and eight and a half on the fifth.

From the evidence which your committee have received on this subject, there appears to be no doubt, that the former system is very generally and decidedly approved by the apprentices, as it leaves them a large portion of time, free from interruption at their own disposal, for the cultivation of their grounds or for any other purpose. Your committee are convinced that that system must prove most conducive to the interests of the employers, which will secure the most cheerful acquiescence on the part of the apprentices, and they cannot but express their hope, that the example which has been set on many of the larger properties, of meeting the wishes of the apprentices on this subject, by an adherence to the nine hours' system, will be generally followed throughout the island.

In connexion with this subject, your committee would observe, that they have examined into the discontinuance of certain indulgences which were usually granted to the negro when in a state of slavery, and which it has been urged are secured to him in the same manner as the other allowances by the Imperial Act, during the period of the apprenticeship.

Although your committee do not feel warranted in putting this construction upon the Act, yet they conceive, that it is to be regretted, that those indulgences should in any case be withheld, as long as the apprentice works in a proper manner for his employer, during the time which he is bound to give him; unless indeed a compensation is given to him by an increased amount of wages for the extra labour which he voluntarily undertakes to perform; a plan which seems to have been adopted by Mr. Shirley, upon his estates, with equal judgment and humanity. It appears that these indulgences have been very generally continued to the apprentices upon the larger properties.

5. Your committee have felt it their duty to institute a strict inquiry into the alleged cases of corporal punishment inflicted on female apprentices. They found that this subject had engaged the close attention both of the local government of Jamaica and of the government of this colony, and that measures had already been taken to prevent the recurrence of the violation of that most im-

portant enactment, contained alike in the Imperial Act for the Abolition of Slavery, and in the Jamaica statute, which prohibits the infliction of corporal punishment on female apprentices.

The result of Lord Sligo's inquiry upon this point, led to the discovery of many instances of a practice of this nature, existing for offences against the discipline of the workhouse in the houses of correction in Jamaica, not under the immediate control of the executive government, but subject to local regulations and superintendence. Your committee are happy to observe that the legality of this punishment has in no instance been asserted, but that all parties in Jamaica have concurred in its being contrary to the enactment in the Abolition Act before referred to. In several cases prosecutions were instituted against the offenders, by order of the governor; in one recent case the party was convicted, and the illegality of the punishment thereby established. As, however, some doubt has been thrown upon the construction which may be placed on the law in this respect, your committee are of opinion, that it is essential that such doubt should be effectually removed. The attention of the House of Assembly of Jamaica has been directed to the subject, and as they had distinctly recorded their opinion of the illegality of this mode of punishment, your committee entertain the fullest confidence, that they will not fail to take such measures as will prevent the possibility of the continuance of a practice at once contrary to law, and abhorrent to the best feelings of our nature.

In connexion with this branch of their inquiry, your committee feel it right to express their opinion that the practice of working females in chains (of a light description it is true) when in the penal gang, is open to serious objection. Although it may be expedient, and even necessary, that female apprentices should be sentenced in some cases to the penal gang, your committee consider that the labour and degradation involved in that punishment, would be a sufficient object of terror without the addition of chains, and that the effect of this addition cannot fail to have an injurious influence on the characters and feelings of individuals. They are of opinion, that, in the infliction of punishment, care ought to be taken to avoid any thing which needlessly tends to lessen that self-respect, which, in the female character especially, it is of the highest importance to maintain, or, when it does not exist, to create.

6. Strong objections have been urged against the present state of the law with regard to marriages, which confines to clergymen of the Church of England the power of solemnizing the marriage ceremony. It appears to your committee to be of the utmost consequence in such a state of society as now exists in Jamaica, that all ground for these complaints should be speedily and completely removed. They do not, however, feel it necessary to dilate upon this subject, as they find that the same view of it has been taken by Lord Glenelg, and they concur in the trust expressed by his lordship in his circular of the 5th of March, 1836, to the Governors of the West India Colonies, that the local legislatures "will promptly and diligently apply themselves to the work of maturing a liberal and comprehensive law, dispelling all doubts respecting the validity of marriages already celebrated by the missionaries, and removing all obstacles to their solemnizing such contracts hereafter amongst the members of their various congregations."

7. The present conduct of that portion of the negro population which was under the age of six years on August 1st, 1834, and is consequently free, has been forcibly urged upon the attention of your committee by several competent and respectable witnesses. It appears that there exists a general disinclination

on the part of the parents of those children to suffer them to become apprentices; (a circumstance which your committee cannot but consider indicative of the just value which the negroes attach to freedom;) that the means of education are provided for them in a most inadequate manner, and the consequence is, that they are growing up for the most part in ignorance and idleness. Your committee need not dwell upon the great importance to the future prospects of the West India colonies, that bad habits should not be formed in the minds of the rising generation, which are but too likely to become contagious. With a view to prevent so great an evil, your committee trust that the legislature of Jamaica will take immediate measures (as they have stated their willingness to do) for the better encouragement of schools, which, independently of the peculiar case of the children who have been referred to, appear to be exceedingly wanted for the general use of the negro community, and in that event, your committee hope, that parliament may feel disposed to contribute, in future sessions, yet more liberally than they have already done, towards the attainment of this most pressing and momentous object.

Your committee have thus commented upon the principal points which have been brought before their notice, and upon a general review of the evidence which they have received, they conceive that they are warranted in expressing a belief, that the system of apprenticeship in Jamaica is working in a manner not unfavourable to the momentous change from slavery to freedom, which is now going on there. They perceive undoubtedly, many traces of those evils which are scarcely separable from a state of society confessedly defective and anomalous, and which can only be defended as one of preparation and transition. But, on the other hand, they see much reason to look forward with a confident hope to the result of this great experiment. In the evidence they have received, they find abundant proof of the general good conduct of the apprentices, and of their willingness to work for wages wherever they are fairly and considerately treated by their employers. It is indeed fully proved, that the labour thus voluntarily performed by the negro, is more effectual than that which was obtained from him while in a state of slavery, or which is now given to his employer during the period for which he is compelled to work as an apprentice. The mutual suspicion and irritation of the different classes of the community, appear to be gradually subsiding; and, on the part of the negro population, industrious habits, and the desire of moral and physical improvement, seem to be gaining ground. Under these circumstances, your committee feel bound to express their conviction that nothing could be more unfavourable than any occurrence which had a tendency to unsettle the minds of either class, with regard to the fixed determination of the Imperial Parliament, to preserve inviolate both parts of the solemn engagement by which the services of the apprenticed labourer were secured to his employer for a definite period, and under specified restrictions, at the expiration of which, he is to be raised to a state of unqualified freedom, and be governed by laws framed in all respects on the same principle as those to which his white fellow-subjects are amenable.

Some of the objections taken to the Jamaica legislation, have been satisfactorily explained by further evidence in the course of the investigation, and do not therefore appear to require any specific notice. Upon other points which have not been satisfactorily explained, your committee have omitted to animadvert, because they believe that the attention of the colonial office, and of the Governor of the island has been, and that they trust it will continue to be, steadily and unremittingly directed to every part of the subject. In conclusion,

your committee would observe, that it appears to them to be most expedient that such enactments as are intended to come into operation after 1840, should as much as possible be delayed until that period shall arrive, and at all events be postponed until the time which more immediately precedes it.

August 13, 1836.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED IN JAMAICA.

It affords us great pleasure to lay the following resolutions before our readers; the more so, from their being passed in a colony so long inured to the degrading abominations of the slave system: and most earnestly do we commend them to the attention of the professors of religion and members of churches in the American States.

At a Meeting of the Baptist Ministers connected with the Western Union, in the Island of Jamaica, held in Falmouth, on the 7th of September, 1836, it was resolved:

That it has afforded us much pleasure to hear of the efforts which the Baptist Union, and other kindred associations, are now making in the sacred cause of civil and religious liberty; more especially in regard to the state of the churches in America: and we consider it expedient to inform our friends at home, that the distinction of colour, so justly the reproach of the Christian Societies in that land of professed liberty, are in our religious assemblies and the churches under our care unknown. Guided by the divine principle, that all are one in Christ Jesus, our Societies are conducted, and the officers of our churches appointed, without the least reference to those adventitious 'circumstances, in which our brethren and sisters of a darker hue are placed; and that we are disgusted with the specious pretexts by which American Christians defend such manifest deviations from the temper and genius of the gospel.

That we most heartily concur in the sentiments advanced at the late Annual Meeting* of the Baptist Union held in London, that any failure in the great experiment of emancipation in this and other West India Islands, is to be attributed, not to any unfitness in the African for freedom, but from the many unrighteous and deeply-oppressive restrictions with which that great national measure has been fettered.

That the efforts now making by the friends of humanity in England to arouse to a proper sense of the enormity of the guilt contracted by the professors of religion in America, in upholding and defending the enslaving of their fellow-men and fellow-Christians, is to us a source of sacred joy. And that, the determination of many Churches not to hold Christian intercourse with those who either traffic in human flesh, or refuse their aid for the extinction of this great abomination, in such direct violation of the known requirements of the religion they profess, will, we fervently hope, lead the Christians of America, by one well-timed and energetic effort, to rid themselves and their country of that Moloch of Iniquity which, in the opinion of all whose minds are not warped by that insidious monster, renders them the pity instead of the admiration of the world.

That we hail with joy, as the bright harbinger of hope, that noble band of ministers of the Redeemer who, in the strongholds of American oppression,

have publicly declared themselves the advocates of the immediate emancipation of their fellow-men; and most sincerely do we wish them success; while bitter is our sorrow at the conduct of those who, by their criminal supineness, assist in keeping their fellow-Christians in a state of ignorance and servitude, in which every principle of honour, justice, and religion is outraged.

Signed,

Thos. Burchell,
William Knibb,
Thos. F. Abbott,
Walter Dendy,

John Clark,
Samuel Oughton,
Benjamin Dexter,
John Hutchins.

ADDRESS OF THE GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY,

To the Friends of the Enslaved, in Scotland, England, and Ireland, in behalf of Five Millions yet in Slavery throughout the World.

The Glasgow Emancipation Society, on considering the present state of the cause in which they are engaged, deem it their duty to address the friends of the enslaved, throughout the kingdom.

Encouraged by the success which has attended the experiment in our own colonies, imperfect as it has been rendered by the Apprenticeship scheme—and especially encouraged by the example of *complete emancipation* exhibited in Antigua and the Bermudas; yet contemplating with deep concern, that in all this, only 800,000 slaves have participated, while there are still five millions of our fellow-men in slavery throughout the world; and therefore, all that has been done, bearing but a small proportion to what yet remains, the friends of the enslaved are called upon, by every principle of humanity and religion, to “remember them that are in bonds as bound with them,” and to use every effort that “the oppressed may go free.”

Acting upon this principle, this Society, immediately after the Slavery Abolition Enactment, associated to promote the Abolition of Slavery throughout the world; and, along with the Edinburgh Society, engaged the celebrated Anti-Slavery advocate, GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq., who had previously been invited by the New England Anti-Slavery Society, to go to the United States, to assist the friends of the slave there, by his powerful talents, in promoting the cause of abolition.

This he has done, and has been so highly instrumental along with the advocates of the cause in America, in arousing a great proportion of the people to consider and embrace abolition principles, that the slavery-interested and their friends became so infuriated against him, that he was advised, indeed obliged, to retire from the field, his life being threatened.

* We expected, that in the meantime, the friends of the enslaved throughout this country, who had so nobly struggled for the freedom of our own slaves, would have kept the field with us, until slavery was driven, not from our own colonies alone, but from every corner of the globe.

But we regret that few, comparatively, of these Associations have yet joined in this contest. This may have arisen from their not having duly considered the subject, or from not having the same means of information regarding it that we have had; or some may have thought our duty extended only to our own slaves, and that we had no right to interfere, or no means of effectually interfering with other nations, and that it was enough to hold out to them our example. Such conclusions, however, must arise from imperfectly considering the subject.

We do not intend here to expose the fallacy of these views, or to show that we may interfere, and that effectually; and that it is our duty to do so, by every lawful, constitutional, and Christian means in our power; but, as we intend this as a friendly address to those individuals or Societies who have already espoused, or are likely soon to espouse, the same cause with us, and to be presented to them by our highly respected friend, and the ardent friend of the slave—Geo. THOMPSON, whom we have further engaged to arouse the people of this country to the consideration of this important subject; we will leave it to him to dissipate these or any other views which may have prevented the friends of the slave from embarking more generally in the same philanthropic and Christian undertaking: and on this point, will only advert to an entreaty of the amiable Secretary of the *American Anti-Slavery Society*, ELIZUR WRIGHT, who, in a letter to GEORGE THOMPSON, says, “Give us your sympathies—the sympathies of the people of Great Britain are fatal to the cause of our enemies.”

Five millions of our fellow-men in slavery!—reduced to the lowest degradation—to a level with the brutes—and retained in the grossest ignorance, that they may be kept in slavery, and subjected to every cruelty that their tyrant oppressors can devise, demand our sympathies. Can we withhold them? Shall we not resolve, henceforth, unceasingly to urge their claims by every means in our power, until every man of them shall stand forth, acknowledged as “a man and a brother;” and every “woman as a sister;” until they are admitted, in short, to all the rights and privileges of their fellow-men?

The undertaking is vast, the field is large, and “the labourers are few.” But they may be increased, if every friend to the cause would charge himself with increasing the number, by adding to it himself, and as many as he can persuade of his friends. By ardour and perseverance the work may, ere long, through the blessing of God, be accomplished; and for our encouragement, it is a work which we have every reason to trust that God will prosper.

Let us then persevere—united efforts *will* accomplish much; therefore, we would earnestly recommend you, whether few or many, to associate. This you may do either as Independent or Auxiliary Societies to ours, or any other larger than your own in your neighbourhood, as you may think proper. Much yet remains to be done. We may have to petition parliament to regulate the Apprenticeship more agreeably to the spirit of the Slavery Abolition Act; or probably to abolish it altogether—for it should never have been enacted. We may also have to petition or address the Government, to use their influence, by treaties or otherwise, with foreign powers who hold slaves, to induce them to abolish slavery, as a pledge of their sincerity in the promotion of civil liberty, and the only effectual means of totally extinguishing the slave trade. Therefore, by forming effective Societies, a more lively and efficient interest in the cause will be kept up throughout the kingdom; funds will be collected to promote these objects; a nucleus will be formed for the reception and diffusion of information respecting the progress of the cause; for communication with kindred Societies, when any general and united effort is to be made; and for correspondence with Foreign Societies. Thus would we encourage one another, and stimulate the friends of the enslaved across the Atlantic, who are more exposed to the assaults of the enemies of human liberty.

Signed in name, and by appointment of the Committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society

JOHN MURRAY, }
WM. SMEAL, JUN., } *Secretaries.*

Glasgow, October 28, 1836.

LYNCH LAW.

A pamphlet has recently been issued in America entitled "Proceedings of the Citizens of Madison County, Miss., at Livingston, in July 1835, in relation to the trial and punishment of several individuals implicated in a contemplated insurrection in this state." Prepared by Thomas Shackelford, Esq., pp. 40, 12mo. This publication presents a frightful and horrifying view of the atrocities engendered by the slave system, and cannot be read without exciting the disgust and indignation of every honest mind. Where is the boasted liberty of America, if such villanies are allowed to escape without condign punishment?

From this publication it appears that, in consequence of "rumours" that the slaves meditated an insurrection, that a coloured girl had been heard to say that "she was tired of waiting on the *white folks*, wanted to be her own mistress the balance of her days, and clean up her own house," &c., a meeting of slaveholders was held, who signed resolutions, organizing a committee, or Lynch Court, authorising them to "bring before them any person or persons, either white or black, and try, in a summary manner, any person brought before them, with the power to hang or whip, being always governed by the laws of the land, so far only as it (they) shall be applicable to the case in question, otherwise to act as in their discretion shall seem best for the benefit of the country, and in protection of its citizens."

Previous to the organization of this Lynch Committee, five slaves had been examined, condemned, and put to death by hanging. Among them was a slave by the name of Jim, "a very sensible, fine-looking fellow." One of the Lynch Court, Jesse Mabry, says, "I was appointed to examine him.—He would not for some time make any confession, but at length *agreed* that, if I would not punish him any more, he would make a full confession."—Mabry speaks of the examinations of other slaves, and goes on to say, "after getting through with these examinations, Jim, Backee, Weaver, Russell, and Sam, were all put to death by hanging!" That is, after it had been *agreed* with these suspected slaves that they should be scourged no longer, if they would confess all they knew, they were all hanged on the spot!

The Lynch Court proceeded to try Dr. Joshua Cotton, a native of New England. It was proved to the satisfaction of the court that he had been detected in making low tricks, that he was deficient in feeling and affection for his second wife, that he traded with negroes, that he asked a negro boy whether the slaves were whipped much, how he would like to be free, &c. It is stated that Cotton then made a confession that he had been aiming to bring about a conspiracy. The committee condemned him to be hanged in an hour after sentence.

William Saunders, a native of Tennessee, was next tried. He was convicted of "often being out all night, and giving no satisfactory explanation for so doing;" of equivocal conduct; of being intimate with Cotton, &c., whereupon the committee, by a unanimous vote, found him guilty, and sentenced him to be hanged; and was executed *on the fourth of July*, with Cotton.

Albe Dean, a native of Connecticut, was next tried. He was convicted of being a lazy, indolent man, having very little *pretensions* to honesty; of "pretending to make a living by constructing washing-machines; of "often coming to the owners of runaways, and intercede with their masters to save them from a whipping." He was sentenced to be hung, and was executed. He "died in

dogged silence," says the narrator, "neither acknowledging his guilt, nor asserting his innocence."

A. L. Donovan, of Ken., was next put upon his trial. He was suspected of having traded with the negroes, of being found in their cabins, and enjoying himself in their society, it was proved that "at one time he actually undertook to release a negro who was tied, which negro afterwards implicated him; and that he once told an overseer "it was cruel work to be whipping the *poor negroes* as he was obliged to do." The committee were satisfied, from the evidence before them, that Donovan was an emissary of those deluded fanatics at the north, the *abolitionists*. He was condemned to be hanged, and suffered accordingly. Ruel Blake was next tried, condemned and hung. "He protested his innocence to the last, and said his life was sworn away." Such is Lynch Law!

AN APOLOGY FOR DRs. REED AND MATHESON'S NARRATIVE, BY THEIR AMERICAN PUBLISHERS.

THE servility of the American press is sickening. The threats and the bribes of the South are omnipotent throughout the other states, and effectually repress any such exhibition of public feeling as their free institutions and pious ancestry would have led us to expect. Statesmen, politicians, priests, literary and theological professors, merchants, editors, and publishers, all fall down and worship before the Dagon of the South. The influence exercised at the North, by the abettors of slavery, is truly grievous and astonishing. Before the slightest intimation of their displeasure, the New Englander seems to quail. Firm and intractable as he may be in his negotiations with the people of every other region, he is one of the most submissive of human beings, when the commands of the South are issued. Regardless of his own interests, and despising the suggestions of honour, humanity, and religion, he becomes the instrument of a party which proclaims the American constitution to be a cheat, and the prevalence of freedom incompatible with the welfare of the human race. A singular instance of this has been furnished at New York, in connexion with the publication of Drs. Reed and Matheson, narrating their visit to the Congregational and Presbyterian churches of America. It is pretty generally known that, while this work contains an able and severe refutation of slavery, it seriously criminales the abolition party. It is not for us to account for or to reconcile these facts, nor shall we stop to point out the erroneous principles and fallacious reasonings which are conspicuous throughout the censures so unsparingly expressed.

The pro-slavery party in America proclaimed a triumph so soon as these volumes appeared. They did not notice, or noticing, they did not regard, the general censures which were passed on their slave system. It was enough for them that the abolitionists, the only men who had honestly denounced, and were vigorously seeking its overthrow, were held up to public reprobation as devoid of judgment and regardless of the means

by which alone their object could be obtained : men of heated passions, but weak in intellect, whose ignorance of mankind and impetuosity of temper were throwing back the cause which they were professedly seeking to advance. Passages containing such reflections were quoted by the magazines, reviews, and newspapers in the interest of the slaveholder, and were represented as indicative of the light in which British Christians regarded the abolitionists of America.

But, though the work of the Congregational deputies supplied missiles for a skirmish, it was soon found not to be suited to the temperature of the South. The calumniated abolitionists drew from it arguments which their opponents could not meet, and triumphantly proved, whatever suspicions may have been engendered by the silence of the deputies during their stay in America, that in this country, and amongst their own brethren, they were constrained to speak out strongly. The result was what every person acquainted with the state of American feeling would have anticipated. The editor of the *Columbia Telescope* (S. C.) cautioned the publishers at New York against issuing works containing offensive sentiments on the subjects of slavery ; and the latter, instead of indignantly rejecting the counsel as an insult, dishonoured themselves by the following letter to their adviser :—

New York, Dec. 31, 1835.

Sir,

We noticed in your paper of the 13th instant some remarks upon a book published by us (*Reed and Matheson's Narrative*), in which you give us a word of caution respecting the publication of books, containing offensive sentiments or statements on the subject of slavery.

Feeling confident that your remarks, so far as they relate personally to us, were intended in a friendly spirit, we give you our thanks for them, and beg leave to assure you that nothing can be farther from our wishes or intentions than any lending of our press to the dissemination of doctrines obnoxious, in this point of view, to censure. Of course, as you must be aware, we cannot read, or even procure to be read, all the books we publish ; we are careful to do so when we have reason to suspect any thing improper ; but in many instances we are obliged to rely on the reputation, literary and personal, of the authors. In the case of *Reed and Matheson's Narrative*, we were applied to by those gentlemen to publish their work, and we ascertained that they were highly esteemed, as gentlemen and Christians ; their work, therefore, was not examined, and indeed at that time the subject of abolition had not become the occasion of so much excitement, as it has since unhappily caused. We had no suspicion of it whatever.

To convince you that we have no desire to make our publications a medium of "incendiary circulation," we will merely state that we have in several instances at once declined having any thing to do with works, both of foreign and domestic origin, which have been offered to us, on finding that they were in this respect objectionable, although we have every reason to believe that, on other accounts, they would sell extensively.

You have no doubt heard of Mr. Abdy's book, which was represented to us as very ably written, and likely to be profitable ; but we were told, also, that

Mr. Abdy was an abolitionist, and we would have nothing to do with him. We are, very respectfully,

Your obedient servants,
HARPER & BROTHERS.

"What can be more base than this?" inquires the Editor of the *Emancipator*, in commenting on the affair. "An Apology for publishing Keed and Matheson's Narrative! And then, what an apology! It was all done by mistake—a pure oversight! Their business is so extensive, they 'cannot read, or even procure to be read, all the books they publish,' though they 'are careful to do so when they have reason to suspect any thing *improper*.' It is very proper, indeed, and very harmless withal, to poison the morals of the community by the publication of trashy novels, by the obscenities of Fielding and Ovid—quite proper to make a thrust at liberty, by the publication of unblushing defences of slavery; but to publish aught *against* slavery! Oh! no—they would not do that for the world. 'Nothing could be farther from their *wishes* or *intentions* than *any* lending of *their* press to the dissemination of doctrines obnoxious to slave-masters. Indeed, they have already evinced the sincerity of their wishes and intentions in the case, for 'they have, in *several* instances, *at once* declined having any thing to do with works that were in this respect objectionable.' Even 'Mr. Abdy's book,' though 'ably written, and likely to be profitable,' was condemned because he 'was an abolitionist.' And, more than all, they might have added, we intend soon to make our love of slavery, and our crouching servility to your lordships, still more manifest, by the publication of Mr. Paulding's book, in which you will find a most beautiful attempt to justify slavery, and prove, beyond dispute, that slaveholders 'are honourable men—all honourable men.'

"Out upon such base and *wicked* servility! It may serve a turn just now, but do not its authors know that, in this act, they have published themselves to the world as traitors to human liberty and human rights? It were bad enough for any men, and especially for professed followers of Wesley, as we understand some of the Harpers to be, to occupy neutral ground, and refuse to lend their press to either side of the great conflict now waging between liberty and slavery; but to take sides *with* those whom Wesley declared to be 'exactly on a level with men-stealers,' and *against* those to whom, in the person of Wilberforce, he said, as his dying exhortation, 'Go on, in the name of God, and in the power of his might, till even American slavery (the vilest that ever saw the sun) shall vanish before it;'—this is past endurance, and ought to bring down on its authors the withering disapprobation of every friend of liberty in the land!"

SLAVE-HOLDING MINISTERS A SCANDAL TO THEIR PROFESSION.

On my return to Virginia, in 1815, after the discussion respecting man-stealing, which took place in the Presbyterian General Assembly of that year, I was informed, that there had been a great excitement during my absence, respecting a coloured man who belonged to a preacher, and I was referred to Mr. F. for the particulars. Mr. F. had been nurtured among the Friends, and although I believe not actually numbered with the Society, yet he retained many of their principles and habits of life. After the usual salutation, I introduced the subject, and he spontaneously

disclosed his feelings in these words: "I believe that you preachers are the greatest hypocrites in the world." I answered, "Not all of us, I hope, Mr. F., certainly they are not all deceivers." Mr. F. replied, "How do I know? there's R., I thought he was the best man in the world, and look at the trick he has played me. I will hear no more of your preaching and praying, it is all hypocrisy." He finally said, that so far he could not apply his censure to me; but he had no doubt that if there was only the chance, I should swap, cheat, and drive slaves like the rest of them.

After the first burst of his indignation had passed away, he resumed his usual equanimity, and then proceeded to recount the tale. Instead of the conversational form, I have condensed it into a narrative.

It seems, that some years before this period, the preacher had exchanged a stallion horse for a citizen; the difference in value of the two animals was paid as usual. There was an understanding at the time of the barter, that when Tom should have fully earned the price paid for him, he should be emancipated; and with this enticing lure in prospect, Tom, to use their own expression, went to work like a negro. Merely to relieve his wife, and against their mutual principles and feelings, Mr. F. had purchased a coloured woman for domestic duties, and with this female, Tom by consent of the parties cohabited. Thus years revolved, until some one of the honest Christians around, put it into Tom's head, that he had earned much more than he cost, and therefore, was justly entitled to his freedom by the contract.

Tom took proper advice, and being assured that the valuation of his labour was correct, began to talk to R., the preacher, about going free. His claim was at first disregarded; then denied; and as Tom became more clamorous, he was threatened. Amid this feverish excitement months passed away, until, in a momentary fit of delirious rage, Tom, finding that he could not be free, resolved to mutilate himself, and with an axe chopped off the thumb and fore-finger, I think, of his right hand.

This gave a new aspect to the affair. R. speedily after removed to a distance, and not caring about Tom in his then sulky humour and helpless state, left him to be cured, and to work through the winter in any way which he could. At the latter end of May, 1815, the preacher appeared, to make a final disposition of Tom. He attempted to sell him in vain. By all persons, even those who had no truly just notions of their own, the man was deemed to be justly entitled to his freedom. These would not purchase. The other "brokers in the trade of human blood," would not buy a slave thus maimed and damaged, and the slave-barterer was in a quandary. The path of duty, justice, and humanity was plain and obvious—but that required the abandonment of several hundreds of dollars; and consequently, it was useless to expect that a man who had already violated his agreement, and been the cause of an irreparable injury, would voluntarily "do justly and love mercy." He knew well, that Tom would be a source of unceasing vexation around his own house, and therefore, he had no alternative but to traffic or emancipate him. The former seemed impracticable, and the latter would cost too much. A good con-

science is too precious a jewel for a slave-driving preacher to possess! One method only remained, and that was to tamper with Mr. F.; and through Tom's connexion with his domestic coloured female, and his benevolent sensibilities, to induce Mr. F. to purchase the man, notwithstanding his altered condition, at the original price. When this proposition was first made to F. it was indignantly rejected. "I bought a woman against my judgment," remarked the Friend, "merely to preserve my wife's health, and she has been a burden upon my mind ever since, I will not trade in any more of my fellow-creatures. Set Tom free according to your promise, and if he chooses to stay about here, I will employ him." To this plan the preacher steadfastly objected. After some additional explanations, Mr. F. proceeded, "If you will emancipate Tom, I will manumit the woman; and she shall live with me as before upon the customary wages." This proffer was scouted by the preacher with equal inflexibility. Mr. F. then added, "Take Tom away with you; and rather than separate the man and woman, I will liberate her, that she may accompany him."

But now another and an insuperable difficulty arose. The woman refused to be emancipated upon that condition; and with most provoking contempt declared, "I will not live with a preacher who has cheated my man out of his work and his freedom, and drove him, in a fit of rage, to cut off his thumb and finger; I would rather be Mr. F.'s slave. I will never live with that preacher." In this dilemma the affair remained; until after some days probably had elapsed, tired of the woman's lamentations at the idea of being obliged to separate from her man, wearied with Tom's unceasing importunities that F. would purchase him, with every promise of faithfulness, gratitude, and diligence to repay him; and exasperated at the unfeeling barbarity and unprincipled rapacity of the preacher, F. bought Tom, I believe, at the original price, which was paid for him in the barter for the horse.

When Mr. F. had closed his detail, he subjoined, "Excuse me, all you preachers are hypocrites, and as such, I never will have any thing more to do with you." He kept his word. He was always affable, kind, and friendly as ever; after my removal from Virginia used regularly to call upon me with all cordiality; often expressed his regret at the treatment I had experienced in Virginia, expressed his indignation against R. and his flagrant iniquity, denounced slavery in the most unmeasured terms; but unless he heard my farewell address when I left Virginia, I presume has never since attended the public worship of God. *Bourne's Picture of Slavery.*

Slavery in America.

No. VII.—JANUARY, 1837.

AMERICA AN EXAMPLE TO THE WORLD.

AMERICA has frequently been referred to by philosophers as solving the problem in the theory of legislation, How far a people may be intrusted as the conservators of their own laws and institutions? whether those gradations of rank and influence which have obtained the precedence in old and established governments are necessary, or even favourable to the growth of a people's prosperity and happiness? Volumes have been written on this as an abstract question; and all parties in the dispute cast their eyes towards the United States as the nation most favourably situated for working out the problem, and turning the theory into a substantial historical fact. The circumstances and experience of the first founders of this commonwealth gave them advantages of no ordinary character. The active agents in this great undertaking had been, for the most part, the proscribed and banished men of other countries, who had left the land of their birth that they might enjoy liberty, especially that of a religious character, on a larger and freer scale. With a pretty accurate knowledge of all that was valuable in the governments from which they had retired; with none of the pride of aristocracy or the pedantry of descent, and but little of that ignorance and obstinacy which characterize the plebeian ranks; with no such obstructions from above or below to distract or control them, they had a fair opportunity of conforming the institutions of their new settlement to the model of their own ideas. They had comparatively a blank world before them, and might inscribe it with characters of their own; restrained and guided only by that revelation for which they professed and felt a paramount respect.

Perhaps the complimentary powers of language have on no subject been so severely taxed, by a large party of British Christians, as in describing the institutions of the Western continent. And in many cases, the

praise has been as richly earned, as it has been liberally awarded. Without any direct personal knowledge, it is impossible to read the descriptions of unprejudiced travellers without perceiving very much to admire, and much which it would become us to imitate. There religious freedom is not a name, but a reality; and if in some instances it breaks out into excesses which savour of tyranny in its worst form, we ought to recollect what *man* is, and what *men* are; and allow time to cure the excesses of the system by the same means which were employed in establishing it. It must be recollected, that not only the political, but the religious and judicial concerns of that continent are regulated by public and popular opinion. In no nation under heaven has the press, as the organ of public sentiment and feeling, so powerful, so omnipotent an influence. Against it no abuse, however deeply rooted, or however tenaciously maintained, can long retain its grasp; and with its aid, combined with other agencies of a similar character, every measure of practical good in that country has already been effected, and upon it all hopes of future ameliorations are simply founded. In no other nation has religion, unsustained by patronage and wealth, obtained such splendid triumphs; and to America, both as to what it is, and what it promises to be, may the advocates of the voluntary principle look with unabashed confidence, as giving a practical exhibition of its efficiency, more potent than the patronage of princes, the pomp of a richly endowed hierarchy, or all the wealth which legalized compulsion can extract for its support.

But there is a foil to this pleasing picture. On the back ground of this representation there is an emblem of ugliness on which the eye instantly fixes, which defaces its loveliness, and repulses the beholder. **AMERICA IS A SLAVE-DEALING NATION.** Every sixth man, woman, and child, has the chain of the slave round his neck, and is bought and sold by other parts of the nation as cattle in the field. The men who fought for their own liberty and won it, and who have made so glorious a use of it for their own benefit, are the cruel oppressors of a weak and unoffending race beneath them. The shout of liberty and the yell of tyranny alternate in the same land and from the same lips. And these things are not done in obscurity, in settlements beyond the cognizance and control of law. They are practised in open day; in the very seat of legislation. They are defended by statesmen and senators, civilians, and—religion blushes to add—by ministers of the gospel of peace and love. Yes; it must not be denied, that the system is not merely connived at by professors of religion, it has found its way into the church of Christ, and has polluted the very altar of sacrifice; and the master and his slave cannot partake of the emblems of reconciling love at the same time nor under the same circumstances. This is truly a revolting exhibition; and had it not been long sanctioned by use and habit, no true American but would have exclaimed with Hazeel, “Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing?”

There are, however, reasons which will *account* for the existence of slavery among the Americans, though they will in no way *justify* it. It ought to be recollected that the system was introduced by other nations, and for many years struck its roots into American soil before the people had much hand in the control of their own institutions: and again, we have reason to believe that in the early stages of the American history, the character of the system was more mild and paternal than it exists at present. There was no insecurity in that kind of property which tempted the master to break the spirit of his slave by oppression. In a new and comparatively uncultivated country, there could not possibly be that broad line of distinction between master and slave which marks a more advanced stage of society; and that disposition to indolence in the proprietor of the slave which the system necessarily fosters, had not fully developed itself. In the early stages of this political disease there might be but little so very opposed to the character and spirit of religion; its injustice might attract little attention; and its cruelties might be comparatively unknown. The extravagant and repulsive features of the system may have been the accumulation of later years; and have been almost insensibly advancing, while the sensibilities of the mind were blunted by habit, and the heart hardened by the constant practice of oppression and wrong.

There is, however, a tendency in all evil to work its own cure; just as in the physical constitution there is an inherent disposition to repair the accidents and infirmities to which the human frame is exposed. Evils in the social system acquire a certain degree of virulence and turpitude; error accumulates upon error, and wrong upon wrong; the patrons and defenders, and those who derive advantage from the wrong, are given up to a spirit of infatuation; they resist all reformation or improvement; they defy all invasion of their assumed rights; until at length, public indignation is roused; and they who yesterday were its palliators and apologists, become its zealous and determined opponents.

No country under heaven is more favourably situated for effecting the removal of this or any other system of wrong, than is that of the United States of America. In that country so uncontrollable is the influence of the press, so omnipotent is the power of public opinion, that when once the tide of general sentiment and feeling is fairly set against a practice, no power on earth can resist its progress, or long retard its success. Especially is this applicable in a case like this, where justice, mercy, honesty, policy, religion, are the basis on which its appeals are founded; whilst its opponents can only appeal to antiquated rights, held by compulsion, and defended by sophistry; to the force of habit, ill-acquired, and hard to resign; to the love of arbitrary power, which scarcely any man has been known voluntarily to resign.

It is in this view that we remarked, in the first paragraph of this paper, that the eyes of the whole world are at this moment upon Ame-

rica. A contest is there carried on, in which every government and every people on the face of the earth is concerned. A habit of oppression and wrong had gradually entwined itself into their entire social and political system: it was venerated by age, and sanctioned by custom; it was supported by interest, and gratified the strongest of all human passions—the love of arbitrary power. But eventually it was discovered to be *wrong*; and the nation must be rid of it. How is this to be effected? Governments and people in each of the continents ask, how? And the American people are at this moment preparing the answer: *It is by bringing to bear the pure religious principle upon the sentiments and feelings of the people at large.* For this purpose one hundred newspapers are pledged to pure abolition principles; pamphlets, magazines, and reports fly abroad with every wind; upwards of sixty lecturers have sworn death to the system, and are moving the dense mass of mind by their eloquence, east, west, north, and south. The public are gradually becoming enlightened—the people will influence their representatives—their representatives will alter the laws; and (auspicious issue!) the slave will be bereft of his fetters, and stand erect in his own rights among his fellows of the human family.

It requires not a prophet's vision to foresee that such will be the course of events. The elements are already at work, and have been for years; and so signal has been the success attending their movements, that, for a moment to dream of their ultimate failure could never be imagined by any man out of bedlam, or any child out of its cradle. For the encouragement of the agents of this godlike work, let them know that ten thousand eyes are upon their efforts; thousands of prayers are daily offered on their behalf; and, when they shall have accomplished their work, millions of voices will unite in thanksgiving to that God who had nerved them for the conquest, and to whom the victory is due.

H.

EAST INDIA SLAVERY.

No. II.

THE extent of the negro slavery which until now has prevailed in the British colonies, has always been a palpable undisputed subject, for the custom-house returns of negroes imported were easily attainable, and the limited extent of each colony facilitated the process of taking a census of the population: but, to ascertain the extent of slavery in British India, is a far more difficult task; the term India always has been most vaguely applied, and the limits of the British empire in India are almost as indefinite; one half of that empire is governed directly by European functionaries, whilst the other half of it is occupied by British armies, and governed in the name of native sovereigns, who are merely puppets

moved about as the British government pleases. Even the independent states of India are accessible to British influence, and most of them have, at times, been either forced or inveigled, into commercial treaties with the recently exploded monopoly, stipulating to deliver all their silks, pepper, sandal, petre, and opium, to the English East India Company, and to receive all their metals and woollens from the same princely factors of the Eastern hemisphere. Indeed, the will of Britain is the law of India, for it is backed by two hundred and fifty thousand bayonets, which are always ready to fly out of their scabbards whenever they can find a pretence to shed blood: thus supported, the British authorities in India seem frequently to have been more forward in urging various reforms on their allies than in carrying them into effect in their own territories; for instance, of late years, the abolition of *Suttee* and the abolition of slavery, seem to have been strongly urged by the British ambassadors on several of the independent sovereigns in India.

Generally speaking, a settled Hindoo government privileged the few and degraded the many; its aristocratic priests and warriors held lands which they did not deign to cultivate with their own hands, but which they either rented out to the agricultural caste, or else tilled by metagers or slaves. Civil wars, insurrections, and invasions disturbed the established ranks of society, and often families of low caste obtained the sovereignty of considerable states. The successive great Mahomedan invasions overwhelmed most of the Hindoo governments, and trampled upon their institutions; the conquerors disregarded caste, and seized upon every species of property; they rack-rented the land, and let it to whoever would pay them the greatest portion of its crop; thus their rapacity virtually abolished agrestic slavery. The breaking up of the Mogul empire produced complete anarchy. The first measures of the British were, like those of the Moguls, the confiscation of all the land: the conquerors farmed out the land to whoever bid the greatest portion of the crop, without regard to caste or connexion; so that, the actual cultivator often became the immediate tenant of the government. This state of things prevailed generally throughout Bengal, and even as far south as to the city of Madras; but, in all the country to the southward of Fort Saint George, the Hindoo institutions continue yet in force, to a considerable degree; the Mussulman power never was firmly established there, and the British have systematically maintained the worst features of Hindoo government in all their native deformity; especially idolatry and slavery. The western coast of the peninsula is the strong-hold of field-slavery.

The British possessions in India are governed by a constant succession of Europeans, who go out from England in their boyhood and endeavour to return home in their full manhood; their object is to serve the time which entitles them to retire home on their rapidly acquired fortune and their pension; they are aliens in colour, in language, and in religion to

the people they govern ; they are elevated immeasurably above them, and they are quite independent of them ; they are ill acquainted with the people and with the country. A government composed of such materials, and acting on such principles, cannot be intelligent or trust-worthy ; in fact, its highest aim ever has been merely to keep the machine of government moving on in its usual course ; and it naturally looks upon every proposal of reform as dangerous. Mr. Campbell, of the Madras civil service, felt so much disgusted with the apathy and imbecility displayed by the Madras government on the subject of slavery, that he indignantly, but truly said, “ *A vis inertia*, hostile to all change, seems inherent in the local governments of India ; imbibed perhaps, from the people subject to their rule, whose characteristic peculiarity is a tenacity of long-established customs. Even when improvements are suggested by the constituted authorities, the voice of their servants has little weight in favour of new measures. Responsibility is avoided by following the beaten track ; and silence is the safest reply to those who propose a deviation from it, even for the sake of humanity. The outcry raised in India against the Suttee was long powerless, until it returned reverberated from the British shore ; and, that against slavery will continue disregarded, until it receives support from all the energy of the home government.” He might have added, stimulated by the omnipotent voice of the British people—that indignant voice which echoed the voice of God, and compelled the home government to emancipate the negro from the galling fetters which had brutalized him from generation to generation.

Spain and Holland systematically concealed all knowledge of their colonies, as much as they were able, from the public ; England has always had her American colonies open and accessible to the people of Britain ; but, until the year 1833, she has adopted the secret system, fit only for bigots and monopolists, for her possessions in India. This exclusive system of intercourse between Britain and India, aggravated by the often abused power of summary deportation, and by inveterate enmity to the use of the noble art of printing, has involved all Indian subjects in great obscurity ; up to the present moment parliament has been unable to obtain any thing like an estimate of the total population of the British territories ; much less has it been able to ascertain how many British Indians are free, and how many are slaves and bondmen.

An intelligent public is the only guarantee for an intelligent public. The governing bodies of India have been so earnest in concealing all knowledge of the Indies from the people of Britain, that they have neglected to provide the means of information for themselves and for their highest functionaries. Many very striking instances of the extreme ignorance of the Indian authorities on the subject of slavery have occurred. The province of Malabar was permanently annexed to the East India Company's dominions in the month of March, 1792 ; and in December, 1812, nearly twenty years afterwards, the court of directors wrote out,

saying, "We are told that part of the people employed in the cultivation of Malabar (an article of very unwelcome intelligence, they add,) are held as slaves; that they are attached to the soil, and marketable property!" In like manner, many years afterwards, Bishop Heber said, "Though no slavery legally exists in the British territories at this moment, yet the terms and gestures used by servants to their superiors, all imply that such a distinction was, at no distant date, very common. 'I am thy slave,'—'Thy slave has no knowledge'—are continually used as expressions of submission and ignorance." With such examples of palpable ignorance on the part of the government and of its highest functionaries, as to the existence of slavery in India, it is not surprising to find that the character of slavery, and the existence of the evils which are inseparably connected with it, is stoutly denied by many of the officers of government, who are themselves the task-masters of the slave. The fact is, the government has endeavoured to persuade itself, and the world at large, that slavery does not exist in India; and when compelled to admit that it does exist, then it mystifies its extent, and denies its character. Ignorance, rather than corruption, has induced some persons, even in India, to proclaim the non-existence of slavery in India; other persons, when convinced of the existence of slavery in India, have palliated it, either on account of its limited extent or of its benevolent character; even the total abolition of slavery throughout the British territories, ever has been, and yet continues to be, the boast of persons who happen to have limited means of information, and to be residing in districts where slavery does not prevail, or where it is put down by the self-will of some magistrate who acts with a degree of vigour which outstrips the letter of the law. In the month of December, 1823, a Bengal publication said, "Slavery is now entirely prohibited by the British government here, as really as in Britain itself." Even as lately as the 20th of April, 1834, the Rev. C. Lacey, wrote from Cuttack, to the Rev. J. Peggs, saying, "Slavery has been abolished throughout all the Company's provinces; and the measure has been followed by some of the native states. There is not now a slave in British India! It will, however, be some time before the slaves become aware of their privilege, and longer still before most of them will be disposed to avail themselves of it. Slavery is a different thing in India to what it is in the West." With the pulpit and the press of India thus proclaiming the non-existence of slavery, the stranger to the subject may well be startled; but, what sort of an abolition can that be of which the slave is not aware, and of which he will not avail himself? We can give the government of India full credit for such an Act; it is of a piece with the Abolition Acts of the Russian government, which worked so differently from their pretended character, that the proprietors of the neighbouring provinces laid down the arms with which they had threatened the Czar, and petitioned him to emancipate their slaves after the same manner,—that is, by imposing additional

services upon them, and enforcing the performance of their tasks by law. Even our own improvident Act seems to prove rather a sound than a reality ; many an apprentice is scarcely aware of any amelioration in his condition since he was a slave.

In the West Indies the slaves generally, both male and female, young and old, were agricultural ; some were tradesmen, others were domestics, and a few were kept as concubines. In the old Hindoo states in the south of India the mass of the slave population is agricultural ; but to the north of the river Kistna agricultural slavery appears to be very local ; however, throughout all India, domestic slavery prevails to a considerable extent. In the year 1771 Bengal was half depopulated by the most grievous famine which had ever been experienced in that very fertile region ; consequently the people were driven to desperation ; they betook themselves to robbery in gangs : the next year Warren Hastings and his coadjutors enacted that the families of gang robbers “shall become the slaves of the state !” In the year 1785 Sir William Jones addressed a charge to the grand jury of Calcutta, when he said : “The condition of slaves within our jurisdiction is, beyond imagination, deplorable ; and cruelties are daily practised on them, chiefly on those of the tenderest age and weaker sex, which, if it would not give me pain to repeat and you to hear, yet, for the honour of human nature, I should forbear to particularize. If I except the English from this censure it is not through partial affection to my own countrymen, but because my information relates chiefly to people of other nations, who likewise call themselves Christians. Hardly a man or woman exists in a corner of this populous town who hath not at least one slave child, either purchased at a trifling price, or saved perhaps from a death that might have been fortunate, for a life that seldom fails of being miserable. Many of you, I presume, have seen large boats filled with such children coming down the river for open sale at Calcutta ; nor can you be ignorant that most of them were stolen from their parents, or bought, perhaps, for a measure of rice in a time of scarcity ; and that the sale itself is in defiance of this government, by violating one of its positive orders, which was made some years ago, after a consultation of the most reputable Hindoos in Calcutta, who condemned such a traffic, as repugnant to their Shashtra.”

In 1787, in the province of Dacca, many children were kidnapped, given away, or sold into slavery by their parents ; but, on their arrival in Calcutta, a number of them were recovered and restored to their parents. In 1789 one vessel transported no less than 150 slave children from Calcutta to Colombo. Lord Cornwallis said to the Court of Directors, “An infamous traffic has, it seems, long been carried on in this country by the low Portuguese, and even by several foreign European seafaring people and traders, in purchasing and collecting native children in a clandestine manner, and exporting them for sale to the French islands and other parts of India.” His lordship further stated, that he had directed one

person to be prosecuted criminally for having carried off some children ; that he had published a proclamation forbidding the barbarous traffic ; and that he had a plan under consideration which had for its object the abolition of slavery, under certain limitations, and to alleviate, as much as may be possible, the misery of those unfortunate people during the time they may be retained in that wretched situation. However, it is to be regretted that no further notice of this plan is to be traced upon the records of the Bengal government. In 1791, in consequence of some free Bengalees having been sold at St. Helena as slaves, the Court of Directors desired the Bengal government to put a stop to the inhuman practice ; accordingly an order was issued, obliging every person taking a native to Europe to give a bond of about £100 sterling for the return of the native to India. In 1799 the Bengal government declared the murder of a slave to be a capital offence. In 1811 the Bengal government prohibited the importation of slaves into its territories, either by sea or land. In 1816 the Bengal government proposed to register every transfer of a slave, but dropped the scheme. In 1824 it was discovered that, notwithstanding the prohibition, it was still a very common practice for the Arab vessels to import African slaves, and to export Bengalee females for sale in Arabia ; however, Mr. Landford Arnot gave so much offence to the Bengal government for exposing this contempt of the law, under the eye of the supreme government, that he was summarily deported to England, and the *Calcutta Journal* was suppressed. So much for the integrity of the government of India with respect to the foreign slave, carried on to this hour in the city of palaces, under the very windows of their own council chamber !

The state of the slaves, and the conditions and customs under which they are held, differ essentially in almost every district ; however, generally speaking, it is the Hindoos who possess the agricultural slaves, and the Mahomedans who possess the domestic slaves. All over India the kidnapping of children is a very prevalent crime, and parents often sell their children. Throughout Bengal generally, both among Hindoos and Mahomedans, domestic slavery is very prevalent : in the upper provinces the land is partly cultivated by slaves ; in Ramghur, and other districts, the greatest part of the cultivators are slaves, but in the lower provinces the employment of slaves in the labours of husbandry is almost unknown ; however, in 1813, in the Dacca district, one-sixth of the whole population were slaves. With such scanty information it is difficult to form an estimate, but it can scarcely be too much to say that there are at least two, three, four, five, or more millions of slaves in the two presidencies of Bengal.

Agrestic slavery is said not to exist at all in the central provinces of the peninsula, such as in the districts of Mysore, peopled by the Carnatacka nation ; it is also said to be unknown in the country where the people speak the Telooogo language ; but it prevails commonly wherever the Tamil lan-

guage is spoken; and it assumes its worst character in the provinces of Malabar and Canara. In the Tamil country the lash is not employed by the master; but in Malabar the judicature has recognized its legality. In the Tamil country the slaves are generally worshippers of Siva; however several of them are Catholics, and a few are Protestant Christians. In some part of the Tamil country, by usage, slaves are attached to the soil, but in other parts they are removable from village to village; whilst on the western coast they are often disposed of independently of the land.

The number of Tamil slaves, of one description and another, must exceed half a million; whilst Malabar contains 100,000, and Canara 82,000. Altogether the Madras presidency may contain a million of slaves.

With regard to the presidency of Bombay we cannot venture to form any estimate whatever of the number of slaves; however, we trust that Sir Robert Grant will pursue inquiries on the subject, and we look with hope to the result of the benevolent exertions which he has already made on behalf of the Indian slave.

In Prince of Wales's Island there are three thousand slaves. In the island of Ceylon there are above twenty thousand slaves.

Hence, the British territories must contain millions of slaves; we much fear that they contain many millions; perhaps near ten millions of human beings who are deprived of their natural right to dispose of their own labour to the best advantage.

The dreadful extent of slavery in India has been fully recognized by Parliament in hesitating to abolish it, when his Majesty's ministers brought in a bill for the total Abolition of all Slavery in India on or before the 12th day of April, 1837, on the ground that it would produce insurrection in every part of India.

Some of the functionaries in India have evinced a strong inclination to encourage slavery. In 1824 the Court of Directors ordered the government at Madras to be "extremely cautious in making any regulation for defining the relations of master and slave:" and, in 1826, the Madras government declared that the Court's view coincided with their own. In 1833 the Crown and the Commons proposed the immediate abolition of slavery in India; but the East India Company and the House of Lords decreed otherwise: the Lords bound the slaves in fresh fetters, and made him dependent upon the tender mercies of the Court of Directors of a company in London, which cannot possibly have any sympathy for the slave in India.

In grappling with this mighty evil, the people of Britain must remember that the fate of all the slaves throughout all India is bound up in the fate of the slaves of British India. All these millions of unhappy brutalized beings are utterly without hope of emancipation, unless the people of Britain compel the Lords to revive the bill which his Majesty's ministers introduced to the Commons, proposing absolute emancipation on the 12th day of April in the coming year.

CHARACTER OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

Of all the anomalies existing on the face of the earth, that of American slavery is the most perplexing and criminal. Whether viewed in relation to the civil institutions of the country, or to the professedly Christian character of the population, it awakens emotions of astonishment and disgust. It is a satire on the constitution which proclaims that men are born free and equal, and gives the lie to the religious profession of the community. The contact of slavery with republicanism and Christianity in America, instead of ameliorating its character, has added to its horrors, and rendered it more loathsome and abominable than it is elsewhere found. Its extenuators may plead the moral worth and sacred calling of its patrons, but we point in mournful triumph to the atrocious code, in which its character is depicted, and pronounce it to be the masterpiece of Satanic barbarity and fraud. The following description was given by Mr. Loring, in a learned speech lately delivered in one of the civil courts of America, on behalf of a slave child, whom it was sought to return to bondage. Reader, look upon the picture, and then say what should be thought of clergymen and theological professors who dare to defend it, or to observe an avowed neutrality. "Before looking for the lights of our own jurisprudence on the subject," says the American barrister, "I ask leave to define, in a more especial manner, what is slavery, as it exists among us?"

For this purpose I shall read from 'Stroud's Sketch of the Laws relating to Slavery' (an accurate and valuable compendium), the following propositions, describing the incidents of American slavery. For the most ample proof of each, I refer to the work itself, where the codes, statutes, judicial decisions, &c. of the several states, on slavery, are digested.

Prop. 1. The master may determine the kind, and degree, and time of labour, to which the slave shall be subjected.

Prop. 2. The master may supply the slave with such food and clothing only, both as to quantity and quality, as he may think proper or find convenient.

Prop. 3. The master may, at his discretion, inflict any punishment upon the person of his slave.

Prop. 4. All the power of the master over his slave may be exercised not by himself only in person, but by any one whom he may depute as his agent.

Prop. 5. Slaves have no legal rights of property in things, real or personal; but whatever they may acquire belongs, in point of law, to their masters.

Prop. 6. The slave, being a personal chattel, is at all times liable to be sold absolutely, or mortgaged or leased at the will of his master.

Prop. 7. He may also be sold by process of law for the satisfaction of the debts of a living, or the debts and bequests of a deceased master, at the suit of creditors or legatees.

Prop. 8. A slave cannot be a party before a judicial tribunal, in any species of action, against his master, no matter how atrocious may have been the injury received from him.

Prop. 9. Slaves cannot redeem themselves, nor obtain a change of masters, though cruel treatment may have rendered such change necessary for their personal safety.

Prop. 10. Slaves being objects of *property*, if injured by third persons, their owners may bring suit, and recover damages for the injury.

Prop. 11. Slaves can make no contract.

Prop. 12. Slavery is hereditary and perpetual.

I hold in my hand another brief delineation of American slavery. It is accurate and most expressive, but its plainness of speech is so remarkable, that I hesitate to read it, before I shall have premised that its author is the Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge, a southern clergyman of great eminence, at this moment a representative from the Presbyterian churches of the United States to those of England and Scotland, but perhaps principally distinguished as an uncompromising opponent of the immediate abolitionists. In a speech delivered by Mr. B., he asks:—

What, then, is slavery? for the question relates to the action of certain principles on it, and to its probable and proper results; what is slavery as it exists among us? We reply, it is that condition enforced by the laws of one-half the states of this confederacy, in which one portion of the community, called masters, is allowed such power over another portion called slaves; as

1. To deprive them of the entire earnings of their labour, except only so much as is necessary to continue labour itself, by continuing heathful existence; thus committing clear robbery.

2. To reduce them to the necessity of universal concubinage, by denying to them the civil rights of marriage; thus breaking up the dearest relations of life, and encouraging universal prostitution.

3. To deprive them of the means and opportunities of moral and intellectual culture—in many states making it a high penal offence to teach them to read; thus perpetuating whatever of evil there is that proceeds from ignorance.

4. To set up between parents and their children an authority higher than the impulse of nature and the laws of God; which breaks up the authority of the father over his own offspring, and, at pleasure, separates the mother at a returnless distance from her child; thus abrogating the clearest laws of nature; thus outraging all decency and justice, and degrading and oppressing thousands upon thousands of beings created like themselves in the image of the most high God!

This is slavery as it is daily exhibited in every slave state."

SLAVEHOLDERS NOT ADMITTED TO THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

THE American Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine for July last has an able article, from the pen of Professor Wright, entitled, *Slavery and its Ecclesiastical Defenders*, in which the arguments of the *Christian Spectator*, and of the *Biblical Repertory and Theological Review*, are subjected to an accurate analysis and complete refutation. We should be glad to transcribe the whole of this article, but our brief space compels us reluctantly to restrict ourselves to the following extract:—

Neither the reviewer, nor any other Biblical critic, dares say that the words translated *servant* and *service* in the New Testament, have a less extensive signification in Greek than in English. To translate them by the words *slave* and

slavery, is to beg the whole question. Slavery, true enough, may be thus exalted, but the Bible is degraded, for its figures, descriptive of a willing and cheerful obedience to God, are no longer derived from the voluntary labour of cheerful and well-paid domestics, but from the unwilling and thankless drudgery of slaves. The holy John, and the zealous Paul, and the courageous Peter, are no longer the 'servants of Jesus Christ,' but the 'slaves of Jesus Christ.' Would the theologians of Princeton turn their Saviour into a slaveholder? Do they find any thing so lovely in the beau ideal of a southern slaveholder, with his hundred negroes, that they would make the relation of the latter to the former the type of theirs to their Divine Lord and Master? We trust not."

Now one of the main positions of the reviewer is, that in the days of Christ and his apostles slavery existed in Judea, Greece, and Rome, worse than that of the present day. Where is his proof that such slavery existed in Judea? We know that a species of servitude did exist there, under the denomination *δουλεία*, which lacked the odious characteristics of American bondage, which was just and honourable both to master and servant. Now, if a worse species of servitude did exist, it is for the reviewer to show it. If this servitude was abused by tyranny on the part of the master, so as to be worse than American slavery, it is for him to show it. If he cannot show it, it will be easy for us to show why Christ did not condemn it. If he can show it, we turn his battering ram upon his own castle. He says to us, the fact that slavery existed, in its worst forms, in Judea, and Christ did not condemn it, is proof that slavery *in itself* is not a sin, but the sin lies in the abuse. We say, then, that the fact that slavery was *abused* in Judea, and Christ did not pronounce that *abuse* a sin, is proof that it is no sin. Hence, not only is the tree good, but the fruit also. The reviewer may take which course he pleases. But let us remind him that the evidence that the Saviour did not rebuke any particular sin, is altogether negative. For aught we know, the Saviour may have made innumerable applications of the principles of his sermon on the mount, which are not recorded. The evangelists did not take notes of his whole ministry, much less report the whole in four short tracts."

But did not Christ and his apostles do something more than merely *not* condemn slavery? Did they not receive slaveholders to their communion? Such is the assumption of the reviewer. But he has contented himself with the assumption, without the trouble of examining 'scriptural passages.' Now that there were believing *masters* in the communion of saints, we have no disposition to deny. But the question is, were they *slaveholders*? The reviewer cannot make them such, even by his own deceitful definition of slavery, without doing violence to the sacred text. The very gate, by which masters entered the church, had written over it, '*Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal,*' Col. iv. 1,—an injunction which would be perfectly nugatory, if it left the servant no voice in the bargain, nor any rights as a man. It is all the abolitionists now ask of the slaveholder, that he obey this command, in doing which he will cease to be a slaveholder, and become the master of voluntary servants, standing, so far as rights are concerned, on a footing of equality with himself. Again, the apostle, in the very passage where he speaks of believing masters, contrasts the servants who were under those masters, with those who were under the *yoke*. It is unfortunate that the English translation fails to give us the distinction which is obvious to every reader of the original. After enjoining upon the ὅσοι εἰσὶν ὑπὸ ζυγὸν δεῦλοι, (*Whatsoever servants are under the*

yoke), that they should count their own masters worthy of all honour, that *the name of God and [his] doctrine be not blasphemed*, the sacred writer turns to another class, οἱ δὲ πιστοὺς ἔχοντες δεσπότας—(but those who have believing masters). The fair inference from the *distinctive* employed is, that the latter were *not* under the yoke. And this inference is confirmed by the injunction, which the apostle proceeds to lay upon them, μὴ καταφρονεῖτωσαν, ὅτι ἀδελφοί εἰσιν, (let them not disregard them—decline their service—because they [the masters] are brethren); [See Matt. vi. 24], ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δουλενέτωσαν, (but serve them the more willingly), ὅτι πιστοὶ εἰσι καὶ ἀγαπῆτοι, οἱ τῆς ἐνεργείας ἀντιλαμβανόμενói* (because they are worthy of confidence and love, assisting in [doing their part in] this well-doing). Now, supposing for a moment that these servants of believing masters were still under the yoke, why should the apostle address them at all, except to correct a supposition which they might naturally be supposed to entertain, that their masters, as believers, had no longer any authority to enforce the yoke? Does the apostle correct such a supposition? Does he confirm the master's claim? Not a word like it. He does not say, Do not despise—do not throw off the yoke of—your believing masters, *because* they have the *right*, or the *authority*, or the *power* to compel service—to enforce the yoke; but, *because* they are worthy of trust and love, they have no disposition to enforce any yoke whatever, except that of mutual kindness. Do not throw off the yoke, because there is no yoke! The theological reviewers must relieve their supposition of this difficulty before they can be allowed to use it for admitting slaveholders into the church. Till they have done so, we maintain

* This word, in our humble opinion, has been so unfairly used by the commentators, that we feel constrained to take its part [ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι]. Our excellent translators, in rendering the clause 'partakers of the benefit,' evidently lost sight of the component preposition, which expresses the *opposition of reciprocity*, rather than the *connexion of participation*. They have given it exactly the sense of μεταλαμβάνειν (2 Tim. ii. 6). Had the apostle intended such a sense, he would have used the latter verb, or one of the more common words, μέτοχοι, κοινωνοῦντες, &c. (See Heb. iii. 1, and 1 Tim. v. 22, where the latter verb is used in the clause, 'neither be partaker of other men's sins.' Had the verb in our text been used, it might have been rendered, 'neither be the part-taker of other men's sins.') The primary sense of ἀντιλαμβάνω is to take in return—to take instead of, &c. Hence, in the middle with the genitive, it signifies to assist, or do one's part towards the person or thing expressed by that genitive. In this sense only is the word used in the New Testament.—(See Luke i. 54, and Acts xx. 35). If this be true, the word ἐνεργεία cannot signify the benefit conferred by the gospel, as our common version would make it, but the *well-doing* of the servants, who should continue to serve their believing masters, while they were no longer under any yoke of compulsion. This word is used elsewhere in the New Testament but once (Acts iv. 3), in relation to the 'good deed' done to the impotent man. The plain import of the clause, unmystified by the commentators, is, that believing masters would not fail to do their part towards, or encourage, by suitable returns, the *free* service of those who had once been under their yoke. Dr. Doddridge remarks, that Mr. Cradock proposed to translate it, *who will be careful to recompense the well doing of their servants*;—'but I think,' says the doctor, 'ἐνεργεία signifies a benefit freely conferred, and, therefore, is hardly fit to express even the cheerful and exact obedience of slaves.'—A *begging of the question*, worthy of the fattest logical mendicant ever honoured with 'semi-lunar fardels!' and yet it would have availed the learned commentator nothing at all, if he had taken the trouble to ascertain the meaning of the next word! Alas! that the good Dr. Doddridge was neither the first nor the last in this folly.

that the injunction of the apostle, with the reason assigned, implies, that all servants of *believing masters* were in fact FREE; and that the injunction was delivered only for the benefit of the servant and the honour of Christianity, and not at all to enforce any claim or yoke of the master. The abolitionists, indeed, would now give precisely the same advice to the slaves of a truly repentant slaveholder;—"Do not leave your master's employment, because he has now acknowledged your brotherhood, but serve him the more willingly; for the very fact that he has set you free against his own interests, proves that you cannot have a more faithful employer or better friend."

"Where is the reviewer's evidenc^e, biblical or historical, that slaveholders, who still enforced the '*yoke*,' were admitted by them to the Christian communion? This is the vital point of the whole question. For, if the apostles did *not* admit slaveholders into their communion, not even those who held men under the milder '*yoke*'* of Greeian or Roman bondage, then were the circumstances in which they stood to the slavery of their day, altogether different from those in which the professed church of Christ now stands to the brutal system of American slavery. If the primitive church was pure from the stain; if her converts, on entering her pale, passed in as *brethren*; if servants continued with their masters solely from affection, and masters reciprocated and aided their well-doing, and took care to allow them their just and equal rights, then there was no need of a more direct and specific attack on slavery than they made in proclaiming the general doctrines of the cross. 'Repent and be converted,' was a thunderbolt to the slaveholder, which he well knew, in the light of Christian example, must shiver the '*yoke*' of his slave. But how is it with the church of our days? We speak now of the great body of professing Christians in the United States of America. Why, this church may utter language which, in the months of Christ and his apostles, cuts oppressors to the heart; she may preach faith to the crucified, and repentance of all sin, and yet be the nursing mother of slavery. She has the monster in her arms. She is herself a slaveholder! Hence the vital importance to the reviewer's argument, of having slaveholders—actual slaveholders—in the communion of the apostolic church. For reasons which may be suspected before we get through, he chose to *assume the fact*, and then throw upon the abolitionists (p. 276) the burden of proving that the circumstances of the Saviour and his immediate followers were different from ours!

"Well, we shall take up the burden. Leaving totally out of view the difference between a handful of Christians battling with the combined hosts of hypocritical Judaism and heathenish idolatry, and striving to introduce the first principles of the fear of God into the world, and the present moral power of enlightened Christendom, we shall leave the matter to the verdict of common sense on the single difference between a non-slaveholding and a slaveholding church.

"Our blessed Saviour was not a slaveholder, nor the son of a slaveholder, but of a carpenter. He honoured manual labour, upon which slaveholders throw all manner of contempt, by labouring with his own hands. His immediate disciples were not slaveholders; they did not send their *servants* to catch fish, or to prepare a room where their company might eat the passover. None of the multitude who believed on the day of Pentecost could have continued to hold slaves, for they had all things common. We read that they sold houses and

* "Milder, as the reviewer would say, 'in itself'—milder in the abstract.

lands, and laid the price at the apostles' feet, but it is not probable that they did the same by any slaves they might have possessed, although it would be difficult to say why they might not innocently have done so, if slaveholding in itself is right. We have nowhere in the Acts of the Apostles, or their numerous epistles, any intimation, except the one we have already examined, and perhaps another in the epistle to Philemon, that any persons were in the communion of the church who ever had been slaveholders. Now, if slaveholders had been admitted to the communion, with the authority still to maintain their old relation to their slaves, it is hardly possible that great abuses would not have grown out of it, for even our reviewer does not deny that the system, with all its essential goodness, was liable to, and was then actually loaded with frightful *abuses*. Christian slaveholders, influenced by a worldly spirit, would have been betrayed into unjustifiable cruelty towards those over whom the apostles recognized their supreme authority, they would have been constantly overstepping the bounds of brotherhood in their exactions of service, and would have incurred, in consequence, the apostolic rebuke. If it were not so, Christian slaveholding must have been a vastly more manageable thing than it is now-a-days. But we hear not a word of such rebuke. Among 'the care of all the churches,' we do not learn that Paul had any trouble with slaveholders in the church. On the other hand, if slaveholders were excluded from the communion, we should not expect it to be mentioned as any thing remarkable, or which perceptibly increased the odium of the Gospel. Slaveholders would not naturally feel very ambitious to obtain the communion of a company of the *lower class* of people, headed by a parcel of Galilean fishermen, bearing as their banner the ignominious gallows, on which it was the custom to punish SLAVES. When they found the very champion of this new religion courting the poor rather than the rich, not hesitating, or counting it any hardship to minister to the necessities of themselves and others with their *own hands*, when they saw them every where reviled, robbed, stoned, and beaten like slaves, *with the forty stripes save one*,—in short, when they saw them 'lynched,' and submitting to it patiently, it is not at all probable that they would have deigned to think of communing with them till deeply humbled by the grace of God. It is not a very rational supposition, that any slaveholder would have thought of joining such a church, and still remaining the lord of his vassals. It is even not irrational to suppose that hundreds of slaveholders may have been converted and admitted to the church—giving liberty to the slaves under their 'yoke,'—without even questioning whether the Gospel required it. What! join the common people's church, the labourer's church, the *slave's* church, and still be the *holder* of slaves? If Paul met slavery any where, he probably did in Corinth, yet he commenced his course there as a *tent maker*. He thus naturally gained the sympathy and confidence of the labouring class, and, among the rest, of the *slaves*, many of whom doubtless were his hearers, and some his converts (1 Cor. vii. 21). And there may have been slaveholders, too, among his converts. It is plain that the latter could not have expected to come into communion with converted slaves, while they held any power which was not just and righteous in the view of slaves, in other words, while they exacted labour by force. But if, contrary to their expectations, they had been so permitted to come in, it would have been the occasion of greatly increasing the difficulties into which that church afterwards fell, and it would every where have shut the door of the apostle as a preacher to labouring people and slaves."

WASHINGTON'S WILL.

Upon the decease of my wife it is my will and desire that all my slaves, which I hold in my own right, shall receive their freedom. To emancipate them during her life, would, though earnestly wished, be attended with such insuperable difficulties, on account of their intermixture by marriages with the dower negroes, as to create the most fearful sensation, if not disagreeable consequences from the latter, while both descriptions are in the occupancy of the same proprietor; it not being in my power under the tenure by which the dower negroes are held to manumit them. And, whereas, among those who will receive their freedom according to this clause, there may be some who, from old age, or bodily infirmities, and others who, on account of their infancy, will be unable to support themselves; it is my will and desire that all who come under the first and second descriptions shall be comfortably clothed and fed by my heirs while they live; and that such of the latter description as have no parents living, or, if living, are unable or unwilling to provide for them, shall be bound by the court until they shall arrive at the age of twenty-five years; and, in cases where no record can be produced whereby their ages can be ascertained, the judgment of the court, upon its own view of the subject, shall be adequate and final. The negroes, thus bound, are by their masters and mistresses to be taught to read and write, and to be brought up to some useful occupation, agreeable to the laws of the commonwealth of Virginia, providing

for the support of orphans and other poor children.

And I do hereby expressly forbid the sale or transportation out of the said commonwealth, of any slave I may die possessed of under any pretence whatever. And I do, moreover, pointedly, and most solemnly enjoin it upon my executors hereafter named, or the survivor of them, to see that this clause respecting slaves, and every part thereof, be religiously fulfilled at the epoch at which it is directed to take place, without evasion, neglect, or delay, after the crops which are then on the ground are harvested. Particularly as it respects the aged and infirm, seeing that a regular and permanent fund be established for their support, as long as there are subjects requiring it, not trusting to the uncertain provisions to be made by individuals. And to my mulatto man William (calling himself William Lee), I give immediate freedom, or, if he should prefer it on account of the accidents which have befallen him, and which have rendered him incapable of walking, or of active employment, to remain in the situation he now is, it shall be optional for him to do so; in either case, however, I allow him an annuity of thirty dollars during his natural life, which shall be independent of the victuals and clothes he has been accustomed to receive, if he chooses the last alternative, but in full with his freedom if he prefers the first. And this I give him as a testimony of my sense of his attachment to me, and for his faithful service during the revolutionary war.

SLAVERY VERSUS LITERATURE.

The Charleston Mercury, after having incautiously recommended the Rev. J. H. Hinton's History of America, warns the public against it, as follows:—

"Abolition Villany.—Our readers will remember that we gave a favourable notice some weeks ago of a work, entitled, 'The History and Topography of the United States of North America, &c. &c.' Edited by John Howard Hinton, A. M. With additions and corrections. By Samuel Knapp."

"We now warn our readers against encouraging said work. The perpetrators of it, after sending an agent to the south to solicit subscriptions, which were given with

the characteristic liberality of our people, have introduced into the sixteenth number, matter as false, calumnious, and incendiary, as can be found in any other publication of the Tappan's blood. It is thus the south is treated for its unsuspicious generosity. The agent employed for this city and Savannah, as soon as made aware of the base purposes for which he had been employed, indignantly threw up his agency, and intends, we understand, to call upon all persons who have subscribed, to refund what they have paid, and to discharge them from all obligation under their subscriptions. The miscreants, whose agency he renounces, have thus been guilty of as black

a crime toward him as toward the south—bringing in jeopardy both his life and character; for, if unaware of the contents of the work he was circulating, he had continued to act for them, we cannot answer that he would not have paid the forfeit of his life, and been the victim of their baseness.

“It is a warning to the people of the south against all northern publications for which their patronage is solicited. We are taught to expect the stab of the assassin whenever we are approached from that quarter by requests for literary patronage.”

OBSERVATION OF THE LAST MONDAY IN OCTOBER AS A DAY FOR SPECIAL PRAYER ON BEHALF OF THE ABOLITION OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

WE are glad to find, by communications from different parts of the country, that the last Monday in October was extensively observed by our churches for the purposes contemplated by our American brethren. Had the arrangement been known amongst us earlier, there is no doubt but a larger number of meetings would have been held; but we trust, as it is, that our brethren will experience, in answer to the supplications presented on their behalf, increased tokens of the divine presence and blessing. When a people unite together in fervent believing prayer, they cannot fail to accomplish so benevolent and Christian an object as the abolitionists contemplate.

The following letter and resolution will speak for themselves. We heartily commend them to the attention of our pastors and churches.

Birmingham, Nov. 8, 1836.

My dear Brother,

I have the pleasure of forwarding to you the accompanying resolution of the church with which I am connected; a resolution which they adopted with unanimity and great cordiality. Our meeting on the last Monday evening in October was numerously attended, and prayers, fervent and sincere, were presented on behalf of our much injured fellow-creatures and fellow-Christians. You must not suppose that, previously to that evening, our devotional services manifested an entire oblivion of those objects of Christian compassion—no; they have been frequently the subjects of our united intercession at the throne of our common Father; but from this time we propose to give the case of the oppressed a preeminence in our addresses to heaven, on the last Monday in each month. And we hope that many churches in our beloved country will unite with their brethren in a far distant land, to implore the speedy and effectual interposition of God on their behalf, and that we shall not cease to plead, till the yoke of the oppressor be broken, and freedom shall become the common privilege of every man.

Wishing you great pleasure and success in your labours, and uninterrupted health in the prosecution of those pastoral labours which I am very happy to find you are resuming, I subscribe myself, very sincerely and affectionately,

Your brother,

THOMAS MORGAN.

Resolution of the Baptist Church, Bond Street, Birmingham, passed at their Church-meeting, held October 25, 1836.

The church, having been informed that the abolitionists of America have set apart the last Monday evening in every month for the purpose of especial united prayer on behalf of the oppressed negroes, which is observed by them with as much regularity and interest as the first Monday evening in each month is regarded by the friends of Missions, do unanimously resolve,

That we will, on those evenings, unite with our Christian brethren in humble and fervent prayer to God, that he will mercifully protect and assist his devoted servants, who labour for the temporal and spiritual welfare of their degraded fellow-men; and that he will speedily deliver the helpless slave out of the hand of his oppressor, not only in America, but in every part of the world.

AN EVERY-DAY OCCURRENCE.

Kentucky is one of the mildest of the slave states; yet, even there, deeds are daily transacted which chill the heart of every humane man. The following was reported, at the Pittsburgh Anti-Slavery Society, by the Rev. John Rankin, a Presbyterian clergyman of high respectability. Just in sight of my house, said Mr. R., on the other side of the Ohio river, there lived a respectable man, extensively known, and esteemed and trusted as far as he was known, but he was held as a slave, as the property of another man. He often dealt and did business in Ripley, and was generally known, and much esteemed by our citizens—had what was called a very humane master, but unfortunately his master fell in debt, and, being unable to meet the demands against him, he mortgaged his slave for 550 dollars. As the time of the mortgage was near expiring, the master told this man that if he would pay the sum he was mortgaged for he should be free. The man's heart was glad, and he came with tears in his eyes, and laid his case before the citizens of Ripley, who entered into it with unusual interest, and readily subscribed the money, one man putting down twenty-five dollars, another twenty-five, another twenty, fifteen, ten, five, and so on. While this subscription was going on, I saw and conversed with the master in Ripley, told him what progress was made, and he seemed to be pleased as I was with the prospect that this poor man would soon be at liberty to dwell with his wife and two children, who were free. But just as all our expectations were at the highest, when this man had, as it were, his liberty and his domestic happiness before his eyes, one night, just about dark, four men appeared at the door of his cabin,

entered, seized and bound him. He stood in awful silence awhile, for he understood it all, then broke out in a deep groan, "Oh, if it was not for my children, I could bear it." He was then taken in irons to Washington jail—this man of honourable feelings, this innocent man, not even charged with a crime, in this land of law, was thrown bound into prison, and soon taken on board a boat down the river, to a returnless, hopeless distance from his wife and tender babes, without being allowed even the consolation of just bidding them farewell.

This, said Mr. R., is a picture of slavery. The explanation is, that the master had an offer of 750 dollars for his slave from a slave-driver; and, for the sake of 200 dollars, he dashed this cup of prospective happiness to the earth, and tore asunder those tender ties, which God had said, Let no man sever. Two others in the same neighbourhood were sold at the same time—one a husband, sold away from his family; the other a mother, sold from her child. I can appeal to a thousand witnesses in that place who will testify to these facts.

It is as common there to sell men as it is to sell horses. Now to do this to a man who has lived under the Gospel, who knows his rights, who has been brought up in a civilized land, to seize him, bind him in chains, not give him leave to bid farewell to his wife and children, and carry him off, equals in cruelty any thing that is known in the African slave trade.

It is common there to chain them in droves and drive them through the country, innocent men, yes, and women too, who are charged with no crime, just for money. Is this right? I suppose this is a Christian

assembly. Is such a thing consistent with the Gospel? Suppose your children were seized and bound, and carried off to-night, where you would never see them more. To understand this subject, you must bring it home to yourself, and make the case your own. This is commonly done in the night. They are afraid to let the slaves know that they are sold, lest they should escape. The man of colour has all the feelings of human nature. Under that black skin are found

all the features of the human soul. You see in the big tear and the heaving bosom, that it is human nature that bleeds. I have known a mother torn from her tender babe when it was but four weeks old. Can any slave trade exceed this in cruelty. I know there are many, even of those who hold slaves, who would not do this, and I speak of them with pleasure. But where slavery is, there are multitudes who will do it, and it will be done.

OUTRAGES IN MISSOURI.

DAYS OF MARTYRDOM COMING.

The apostle assures us that "he that hateth his brother is a murderer," and of course, only waits the occasion to imbrue his hands in his brother's blood. Now the system of American Slavery is one great system of man-hatred. Its spirit is therefore a murderous one. To the poor negro it offers as the only alternative, submission or death. Does the negro dare to lift his hand in self-defence it visits death upon him, at discretion, in an instant. To its immediate victims, therefore, it is, from first to last, nothing but one great, organized, and established system of Lynch law. And, therefore, whenever the slave, unable to endure his oppression longer, undertakes in any way to throw it off, it stabs him to the heart at once. Without misgiving or hesitation it bathes its hand in his blood, and so acts the murderer as well as breathes his spirit. This is slavery in its essential elements and results to the slave. Of course what it is and what it does to its immediate victims, we should expect it to be and to do to all who come between it and its victim, by taking that victim's part. The power and the occasion, therefore, being granted, and slavery would deny itself and belie its own essential and inherent spirit, if it did not drink the blood of the man who took the part and vindicated the right of its victim. Offering, in its very nature, submission or death as the only alternative to the slave, it must of necessity do the same to his advocate and defender. Murderous in spirit to the one, it must be so to the other: and drinking the blood of the one, whenever he refuses the degrading alternative, nothing but want of power can or will keep it, when occasion offers, from drinking the blood of the other. Nothing but such want of power can keep the man that takes the bondman's part from sharing the bondman's fate. We are not at all surprised, therefore, at the recent outrages

at Marion College, nor shall we be surprised if things proceed from bad to worse, until in the end, instead of persecutions like those below, we read of deaths and martyrdom.

Quincy, Illinois, May 21, 1836.

Dear Brother Leavitt,

I arrived at Marion College about the first of May, with a company of young men who expected either to enter the college as regular students, or the mission farms as "recruits." Also, I had in my care a respectable coloured young man, and a coloured boy, both from New York city, both provided with free papers, &c., as required by law to admit them into the state of Missouri. The younger was to have been bound to Dr. Nelson until twenty-one, and the other expected to recite to me or some other student, and support himself by manual labour, until he should be qualified to go to the land of his forefathers (Africa) to preach the everlasting gospel of Jesus Christ to the heathen. For this, and for bringing such a library of books, &c. as I chose, being a white native citizen of the United States, violent threats were thrown out. Judging it wisdom to remove the boys from the state, at least while such excitement existed, I did so. But meeting brother Nelson on the bank of the Mississippi river, being just on his return with his family from Tennessee, and greatly desiring to avail himself of the labours of the boy, particularly at that time, while settling his family, the boy was permitted to return and be with him. The day after a company of men came from Palmyra to take the boys; but not finding them as they anticipated, they were greatly exasperated, and renewed their threats; for which reason it was thought best to remove the boy as soon as possible. Accordingly it was done. But notwithstanding this, a company of two men from Palmyra began to beat up volunteers for a mob on the Sabbath day, May 15, to come up to the college. They could not succeed

in getting horses that night; but by eight o'clock the next morning they mustered between fifty and seventy men on horse-back, and a few in carriages. Two hundred are said to have been enrolled, among which were a number of lawyers, doctors, and other public characters. They proceeded to Marion College and the "Mission Farms," distance twelve miles, armed with pistols, dirks, &c., and the most of them also with clubs. Myself was their first object. They arrived about twelve o'clock, and found me alone in the field ploughing, apprehending no danger. Brother Williams (who owned the farm) had gone to Illinois with the boy. I was immediately taken prisoner by four men, and in a few moments was surrounded by the whole gang, who had surrounded the farm, and came galloping in from every quarter. I inquired under what authority they came, but received no answer. I again asked if they had legal authority from the revised statutes of the state of Missouri, and was vehemently answered, "No, (with dreadful oaths), but we come under mob-law!"—"Lynch law," &c. I then addressed one of the leaders, who was a lawyer, and inquired if the laws of the state of Missouri will not protect its citizens, and you whose office it is to enforce those laws, are found at the head of a mob, what is our government good for? and what has our nation come to? I could not proceed. They immediately demanded my incendiary books and pamphlets. I declared I possessed no book or books by such a title. But finally they became sufficiently cool to tell me in plain words that they wanted my anti-slavery books, &c. I refused to give them to them until I had the privilege of conversing with Dr. Nelson a few moments, which they granted after searching the farm-house throughout, in drawers, closets, and not only my clothing and trunks, but also those of the ladies! but to no purpose, as I had previously informed them. When they commenced they declared to the family that the mob consisted of *gentlemen*, and they would treat them with politeness! After the above conduct, and before they left the house, they threatened the ladies that if they were not out of the house previous to Saturday night, they would burn the house and give them no chance to escape.

The whole group, in a long procession, escorted me in great triumph through the college campus on our way to Dr. Nelson's. They respected him publicly, though they muttered some time among themselves. I then discovered to them the books they were in search of. On our return, they halted at the college, and took two more prisoners, brothers Benson, of New York,

and Smith, from —, who were students. One of them, however, they let go; but with the other, Mr. Benson, and myself, and the books, they prepared to return to Palmyra. Brother Nelson accompanied us as far as the Mission farm, pleading with them that they would let us go. Notwithstanding his entreaties, backed by those of the ladies, they drove us off, on foot, while the old gentleman sat down and wept bitterly. The ladies retired for prayer, and the Lord heard them. On our way we were both treated with great brutality. Enraged to the highest pitch with rum and the spirit of their master, they could not agree as to what manner they might wreak their vengeance on us. Finally, after crossing a prairie about five miles wide, and coming to the edge of a beautiful grove, they were commanded to halt by their captain, and ordered to form a hollow square, or circle, with their horses, which was done. We were marched into the centre, and the great Sanhedrim was set; but they appeared more exasperated than wise. They first moved, that each should have a hundred and fifty lashes. Brother Benson's case was then first tried, who was charged *only* with "pernicious sentiments," and to whom they gave, as they termed it, an "honourable dismissal," upon conditions that he would not disseminate his doctrines among the slaves, to which he gave assent, and rode out of the place.

My case was then held up for investigation. Lawyer Wright was appointed spokesman. On his calling for the manner of punishment, some proposed tar and feathers; others a hundred lashes; others to take me to Palmyra, and keep me there until night, then daub me with tar, and burn me with the books. Mr. Wright finally made a proposition, to which they agreed, which was, that I must either receive a hundred and fifty lashes, or leave the state. But when they found I preferred the lashes to being driven from the state, they would not let that stand, but made another, which was, that I must have a hundred and fifty lashes, *well laid on*, and if I lived through it, I must lose my life if found within the bounds of the state after the following Saturday. Seeing that it was impossible for me to accomplish any thing under these circumstances within the state, I concluded to leave it. Upon these grounds they released me, taking the books with them, which I wished them to read, and added, I hoped they would do them good. But before we separated, Mr. Wright was appointed to reprimand me. After he was done, I wished to defend myself by a reply. But they all cried out, "We won't hear him."

Throughout all my trial I felt composed,

and reconciled to the will of my heavenly Father: feeling conscious that I deserved whipping, for I had not done half what I ought for my brothers in bondage. I trust the scene was not in vain. It's excellent training for a missionary; in fact, I don't know how I should get along without it. The hearts of the sisters and brother N., who we left in the sorrow of their soul, and who prayed earnestly for us, were rejoiced to see us return alive.

On the evening of the 18th, at midnight, a company came and took brother Williams from bed, to drag him to town before a magistrate, under the pretence of legal authority, for the purpose of enforcing a fine which they pretended he was liable to pay for receiving the free colored boys. He was not liable, and doubtless will recover damages. Their plan that night was, to take Williams, and me as witness, to Palmyra, under the above pretence, from whence, doubtless, we should have never returned. We avoided going by his paying sixty dollars.

Special word having been sent to brother Williams from this royal council, for him to depart the state upon the same day, we accordingly did so, together with some students who had received the same commands; but did not get off so easy then. After arriving on the banks of the Mississippi, at La Grange, we could not get a boat to cross in, hence had to wait. In the mean time, a new company of hungry wolves came upon us, and examined minutely all our baggage, &c. A heavy rain commenced falling, which added considerably to our troubles. We soon ascertained that we could get a canoe by going three miles, which was willingly done; and with the family in, we paddled ten miles, to Quincy, Illinois, where we are at present, rejoicing to get away from those darker shores of slavery; but regretting that those that are bound could not be as free as we.

Your brother in Christ,

A. C. GARRATT.

SLAVERY IN THE CHURCH.

The following are the resolutions recently passed by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, on the subject of Abolition:—

Whereas, great excitement has pervaded this country on the subject of abolitionism, which is reported to have been increased in this city recently, by the unjustifiable conduct of two members of the General Conference, in lecturing upon and in favour of that agitating topic: and, whereas, such a course on the part of any of its members, is calculated to bring upon this body the suspicions and distrust of the community, and misrepresent its sentiments in regard to the point at issue: and, whereas, in this aspect of the case, a due regard for its own character, as well as a just concern for the interests of the church confided to its care, demand a full, decided, and unequivocal expression of the views of the General Conference in the premises; Therefore,

Resolved by the delegates of the annual conferences, in General Conference assembled,

1. That they disapprove, in the most unqualified sense, the conduct of two members of the General Conference, who are reported to have lectured in this city recently upon and in favour of modern abolition.

2. That they are decidedly opposed to modern abolitionism, and wholly disclaim any right, wish, or intention, to interfere in the civil and political relation between master and slave, as it exists in the slaveholding states of this Union.

3. That the foregoing preamble and resolutions be published in our periodicals.

THOMAS L. DOUGLAS,

Secretary.

Cincinnati, O., May 14, 1836.

The first of the above resolutions passed by a vote of 122 to 11. The second resolution was divided into two parts; the vote on the first part expressing decided opposition to modern abolitionism, stood, ayes 120, nays 14; and on the second part it was unanimous. The resolutions, it will be seen, are to be printed in all the papers of the denomination, and at the same time, this same body refuse to print the Address of the British Methodists to the Methodists of this country, because it speaks out on the subject of slavery.

Thus has the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church apostatized from Methodism as it was, and unblushingly declared itself the friend and patron of slavery. How has the gold become dim! Well does the editor of Zion's Watchman, a Methodist paper, remark:

"Alas for our British brethren! Instead of our connexion 'having already begun to condemn the baneful system' of slavery, the congregated wisdom, talent, and piety of our connexion have just now *refused*—POSITIVELY REFUSED to say, in the language of our own discipline, that they are even 'as much as ever convinced of its

great evil;' and not only so, but they have 'condemned' the efforts of any, and all in our church, who are *striving* to oppose it, and by one member of that body, some of them have been judged guilty of a DAMNING INIQUITY, and another of them wished *dead!!!*"

RESOLUTIONS OF ASSOCIATED BODIES ON THE SUBJECT OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

Our indefatigable friend and brother, Mr. George Thompson, is labouring with his usual diligence and success in the North of England. The American mobocracy erred egregiously in driving him from the States, as their more intelligent and reflecting leaders are by this time fully aware. His presence amongst us is kindling into a flame the sparks which might otherwise have expired, and will return to the shores from which he was driven, an extent of moral influence, which his labours there could never have commanded. He has recently lectured to immense auditories at Newcastle, North and South Shields, Leeds, Manchester, Durham, Leicester, Birmingham, and several other places, and is still proceeding unwearied in his arduous course. We are glad to find that Mr. Thompson avails himself of every opportunity to address missionary meetings. He is quite right in this. Right in principle and in policy, and we advise him to persevere. The church of Christ is the hope of the slave, and the day of his redemption is accelerated in the exact degree that the disciples of Christ are made to feel that they are responsible for the welfare of their degraded and injured brother. Some of the following resolutions were passed after Mr. Thompson's lecture.

At a public meeting of the Baptist Missionary Society, held on Monday evening, September 19, 1836, at the New Hall, Leicester, John Ryley, Esq., in the chair, the following resolution was unanimously passed:

That this meeting has observed with gratitude to God the co-operation of their American brethren in the great work of evangelizing the world; but is grieved at the appalling picture of domestic bondage which is sustained in the United States; and believing slavery to be an insult to our common nature, a violation of the laws of reason, and an awful sin in the sight of God, repudiates the thought of any one, who calls himself a follower of Christ, rendering his support to this flagrant evil, whilst affecting zeal for the salvation of the world; considering all such, inasmuch as they live in sin, unfit to be members of the church of Christ.

At a public meeting, convened by the North Shields Anti-Slavery Society, and held in the Wesleyan chapel, Howard-street, North Shields, on October the 21st, 1836; Robert Spence, Esq., of the Society of

Friends, in the chair, the following resolutions were passed:

1. That this meeting, considering personal liberty as the inalienable birthright of every human being; and knowing that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth," regards man's holding property in man as an invasion of man's natural rights, and a direct violation of the fundamental principles of justice and morality.

2. That as men, without distinction of nation, caste, or colour, are objects of God's redeeming love, and, when visited with his saving grace, become alike sons of God, members of his church, and brethren in Christ Jesus, entitled alike to all the privileges of Christians here, and alike heirs of the same glory hereafter; it is, therefore, highly dishonourable to God our Father, derogatory from God our Saviour, and offensive to God our Sanctifier, for professing Christians to hold their fellow-Christians in slavery, or to regard them with any hostile, unbrotherly, contemptuous, or repulsive prejudices, merely because of any inferiority in their civil condition, or of any physical difference in their colour and conformation.

3. That, as slavery and most unbrotherly prejudices respecting colour, with their innumerable and atrocious attendant sins and evils, exist to a great extent in the United States of North America, and are cherished and upheld, and endeavours made to vindicate and perpetuate them in that country, by multitudes not only professing unbounded love to civil liberty, but even professing to be Christians, this meeting, considering that the church of God, in all regions of the universe, is but one body—and that if one member suffers, all the members suffer with it—deeply sympathize with their fellow-men and brother-Christians, whether held in slavery or regarded with unbrotherly prejudices because of their complexion, by the citizens of the United States of North America; and, rejoicing in the progress which the cause of *immediate* slave-emancipation has, in that country, already made, feel loudly called upon to use, in humble dependance on the Divine blessing, every Scriptural means to hasten, not only in the North American United States, but also throughout all the world, the complete abolition of slavery; which would soon be followed, every where, by the utter and everlasting extinction of all those unchristian prejudices respecting colour, with their innumerable sins and attendant evils, to the whites as well as to the blacks, to the free much more than to the bond, which are its natural and necessary consequences.

4. That the thanks of this meeting are due, and are hereby given, to Mr. George Thompson, for his unwearied Christian and indomitable exertions, both in the United

States of North America and in Great Britain, in furtherance of *immediate* slave emancipation.

A public meeting was held at South Shields, on the evening of October 25th, in the Wesleyan chapel, when the following resolutions were passed:

1. That, "God having made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth; and having determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation, that they should seek the Lord," this meeting deeply deplores to learn that our Christian brethren in the United States of America are violating this great principle, by holding in bondage and ignorance upwards of two millions of our fellow-creatures, and denying them those rights and privileges which the Almighty declares are the inalienable rights of all.

2. That this meeting rejoice in the rapidity with which anti-slavery associations are increasing, as well as in the more open and extended avowal of the duty which prompts to immediate and unconditional emancipation; and while they would cordially assist and encourage the abolitionists of the United States, they would faithfully and affectionately expostulate with their Transatlantic brethren, who are in any way implicated in upholding this unjust, unscriptural, and demoralizing system.

3. That this meeting tender its thanks to Mr. G. Thompson, for his eloquent and impressive address on the present occasion; and for his unwearied and zealous advocacy in behalf of the slave.

THE SLAVE.

The dews of midnight gather'd on his brow,
And still he knelt in prayer. The bitter thought
Of all he had endured, must still endure;
The days—the years of unrequited toil,
The coarse and scanty fare, the tattered garb,
The taunt, the bitter curse, the bloody scourge—
All these and worse, far worse the sufferer knew.
They had withheld from him the bread of life,
Had crushed his spirit, bound his soul in chains,
And borne him to the earth. But these were wrongs,
Scarce felt—scarce heeded, while his infant boy
And the fond mother welcomed him with smiles,
When his hard task of day was o'er. But they—
Where were they? Sold! as beasts of burthen sold!
That very morn, he saw them chained and driven
To a far distant clime. Marvel ye then,
That he should turn from earth and ask of Heaven,
Power to endure such weight of bitter wrong?
For nature, unsubdued, demanded blood,
While thus he lifts his head in fervent prayer,
A light from Heaven dispels the vengeful gloom:—
He bows his toil-worn form to earth, and cries—
"Vengeance is thine, thou wilt repay, O God!"

Slavery in America.

No. VIII.—FEBRUARY, 1837.

EAST INDIA SLAVERY.

No. III.

THE opening of another Session of the Imperial Parliament is a proper opportunity for laying before our readers the proceedings of the legislative and executive authorities of the United Kingdom, on the subject of Slavery in India, at the time they inquired into the state of India, and again chartered away the government of Hindostan to a company of the merchants of England, who had originally been incorporated into a Joint Stock Association merely for the purpose of trading to the East Indies, but who embarked in the African slave trade, and who now stand forth as the Government of India.

In order duly to appreciate the flagrancy of the crime which Britain has committed in rivetting the fetters of the slave she called forth for emancipation, it is necessary to pay particular attention to the dates of the various proposals, speeches, and acts of the ministers of the crown, of the members of the two houses of parliament, and of the proprietors of India stock; then it will appear clearly, that, in accordance with the well known feelings of the entire population of Britain—men, women, and children—the ministers of the crown proposed that all sorts of slavery should absolutely cease throughout British India on the twelfth day of April, 1837: so that, “where Britain’s power is felt, mankind should feel her mercy too!” That was noble; and it bespoke a country proud and jealous of the blessing of personal liberty. The House of Commons seemed to meet the wish of the country, and the proposal of the crown; but the East India Company raised the war cry; of all people in the world, they stood forth as the champions of India, the country on whose

vitals they prey. Heretofore they always had suppressed any mention of the existence of slavery in India, but, finding it impossible to hide the crime any longer, especially as it was proposed to institute a Slavery Commission, all at once they changed their system of tactics, and they exclaimed that slavery is so universal, that any attempt to abolish it would produce revolt from one end of India to another. Whenever the people of Britain have been compelled to interpose themselves between the East India Company and their victims, the Company has sheltered itself from the effects of popular indignation under some unintelligible jargon about the invincible prejudices of the Hindoos in favour of burning their widows, paying taxes to Juggernaut, &c. ; so, in the case of slavery, they complicated the simple case of stealing a man and selling him, with all sorts of insinuations about the rights of heads of families, caste, adoption, concubinage, and marriage ! What connexion can there possibly be between a Palla serf, who is esteemed so impure that he may not approach his master, and adoption, concubinage, marriage, or any other family or even domestic arrangement ?

Mr. St. George Tucker is the director who first stood forth as the champion of slavery in India ; he himself was clerk to Sir William Jones, whose denunciation of slavery in Calcutta we quoted in our last article on this subject, at page 152. Since he was a clerk in the Supreme Court at Calcutta, he has had to appear there in another character. We shrink from blotting our pages with defamatory matter ; but if a man will dare to step forth in the metropolis of the empire, and hold back the sceptre of mercy when extended to abolish the great national crime of slavery, we feel compelled to say who and what he is. Mr. St. John Tucker is a man whose word ought not to set aside the will of the nation.

Mr. Jenkins, the director, has been a clever man in his way—President at the Court of Nagpore ; but we have heard that his best days are gone by ; however, at the best, the nursling of a heathen despot's court is not the man from whom the people of Britain will learn the rights of man. Every reader of these pages is already convinced of the gross mistake into which Mr. Jenkins falls, when he says, “ There is nothing in the situation of slavery in India which approaches at all to that of the same class in the West Indies.” True ! there is, indeed, a difference in the geographical position of the slaves of either Indies ; one is in east longitude and the other in west longitude, but both are stolen, sold, and brutalized ; both cry out with a very bitter cry for mercy and for justice ; the cry of both reaches up unto the ear of the God of nations, and he has sworn to avenge their cause ; even in our day we have seen him break up the established empires of oppressors, and surely our ephemeral empire in India cannot stand against him.

Mr. Fergusson, the director, has no personal knowledge of India beyond the limits of the city of Calcutta.

The majority of the House of Lords, perhaps, considered it of more

consequence to thwart a Whig measure than to do an act of justice to millions. Lord Ellenborough objected, that the Slave Commission would cost £15,000 a year ! Perhaps that sum exceeds the amount of his own sinecures, pensions, &c.

On the 13th of June, 1833, Mr. Charles Grant brought before the House of Commons the subject of the East India Charter, and in the course of his speech he said, " Another part of the Bill will relate to the system of slavery in India. It will be necessary to pursue a different course in dealing with slavery in the East and West Indies, in consequence of peculiar circumstances connected with the former. It cannot be denied, that on the coast of Malabar there have been some melancholy instances of oppression to the slaves ; but, generally speaking, slavery is not so severe in the East Indies, in consequence of its being the effect of caste, and connected with religion. I mention these circumstances, not as an objection to the abolition of slavery in the East Indies, but as a reason for proceeding to effect this object with caution. I shall, therefore, propose, that, after a given period, slavery shall entirely cease in India, and that the governor-general shall have the power of appointing commissions to inquire on the spot, into the best mode of effecting this object, with this proviso, that if he should find himself able to abolish slavery before the period fixed by law, he shall be at liberty to do so."

Mr. Buckingham said, " I rejoice to find that slavery is to be abolished in the East, as well as in the West, and, I hope, on easier terms. I am glad to find that a Commission of Inquiry is to be appointed, as evidence and fact are the only safe grounds of legislation."

On the 24th, the President of the India Board inclosed a summary of the main provisions of his India Bill, in which he says, " As to the natives, besides placing them on a level with the British in point of lands, there are two enactments : *First*, No person, native or natural-born in India, is to be excluded from any office, merely by reason of his religion, birth-place, descent, or colour. *Second*, Slavery after a specified period to be abolished.

On the 28th, the Indian minister introduced to the House of Commons his Bill for the better government of his Majesty's Indian territories, in which the clause regarding slavery in India ran as follows :—

" And whereas it is expedient that slavery should cease in the said territories as soon as sufficient time shall have elapsed for making such provisions as the change of the condition of the numerous class of persons therein now in a state of slavery may appear to require ; be it therefore enacted, that all rights over any persons, by reason of such persons being in a state of slavery, shall cease throughout the said territories on the twelfth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and thirty seven : provided always, that it shall be lawful for the governor-general in council to make laws or regulations for the extinction of slavery, either entirely or in part, previously to the said twelfth day of April, one thousand eight

hundred and thirty-seven, throughout the said territories, or any part of them."

On the 2nd of July, the Court of Directors said, that "Any plan which may be calculated to improve the condition of the natives, by abolishing slavery, without doing violence to the feelings of caste or to the rights of property, cannot fail to meet with the Court's cordial approbation."

On the 5th, Mr. St. George Tucker delivered in to the Court of Directors his dissent from the Court's letter of the 2nd instant, in which he says, "Mr. Grant's words are, 'Slavery, after a specified period, to be abolished.' By the bill, which has just been received, the abolition takes place *absolutely* in April, 1837, and no provision is made for indemnification. I cannot perceive the advantage of legislating in this country for the abolition of slavery in India; for, if it be necessary or expedient to make so great a change in the state of society in that country, it can be done most safely by the local legislature. Domestic slavery exists in Bengal; but the slave or bondman is in reality a servant, who sometimes occupies a station of trust, and even of influence. Abyssinian slaves have at different times been introduced in small numbers in Arab ships, and they are much prized by the more opulent Mahommedans; but the existence of slavery may be traced chiefly to those famines with which India has unhappily been visited. The parent, during these seasons of distress, is willing to part with his child for food, to prolong the existence of both, and the child becomes domesticated in the family of the purchaser. The natives are not severe masters; but although we see little of what passes in their household, and although cases of maltreatment of the slave have in the course of my own experience been judicially established, I consider it an act of justice to the people to express my belief, that such instances are rare, and that when they do occur they are not likely to obtain impunity under our existing laws. Predial slavery exists on the Malabar coast, and in some other parts of the country with which I am not sufficiently acquainted to be enabled to pronounce upon its effects. But we must not forget that slavery is expressly recognized and regulated by the Mahommedan law;* that it has been long tolerated by our own government; and that it has existed in India from time immemorial. Considering, then, that we have, by the most formal enactments, guaranteed to our native subjects their laws, usages, properties, and rights, we surely ought to pause before we proceed peremptorily to supersede a state of things which the people may regard as a part of the compact subsisting between them and

* See Hamilton's Hedayah; the various questions relating to slavery are treated at great length in that work. Slavery is also recognized by the Hindoo law: Menu says, ch. viii. sec. 45, "There are servants of seven sorts; one made captive under a standard or in battle; one maintained in consideration of service; one born of a female slave in the house; one sold, or given, or inherited from ancestors; and one enslaved by way of punishment, or his inability to pay a large fine."

their rulers. If it be intended only to allow the slave to claim manumission whenever maltreatment can be established, the natives would, I think, submit to such an enactment ; * for they will have little reason to apprehend that the slave will often avail himself of the means of obtaining his freedom. If, on the other hand, slavery is to be denounced, and authoritatively put an end to, a great change will be produced in the state of society ; the feelings of the people will be highly excited, and our government will be considered to act in a very unjust and arbitrary manner. Who, let me ask, is to be charged with the care and maintenance of the infant slave, or of those who are old and infirm, and incapable of work ? And, in other cases, where the services of the slave are of value, is it proposed to grant a pecuniary indemnification to the master ? If not, on what principle do we proceed in forcibly depriving a Mahomedan of that which he has acquired and held under the sanction of his law and his religion ? It cannot be urged, I imagine, that the slave in India enjoys no civil rights, or that he is excluded from the protection of the law, or that his condition, physical or moral, is worse than that of our infant manufacturers or our paupers, upon whom neither the loom nor the land can bestow more than a bare subsistence. If it were wise to legislate upon theoretical evils, it is still unsafe to frame laws in this country for the people of India, without knowing how far they will harmonize with the feelings, habits, and usages of those for whose benefit they are intended, and whose hostility may render them inoperative. If slavery, as existing in India, be attended with real evil, either to the individual or to the community, it will be quite competent to the local legislature to apply the appropriate remedy ; but I strongly deprecate the idea of any premature declaration by parliament, requiring its peremptory abolition. Such an enactment may be very grateful to the feelings of the philanthropist, and may produce a momentary popularity ; but let us not legislate in ignorance, and let us have some regard for the feelings and the interests of the people who are expected to obey our laws."

At the same time Mr. Jenkins also dissented from the Court of Directors' letter, and with regard to the proposed act for the immediate abolition of slavery throughout India, he said, "The Indian governments have only been backward in attempting to force improvements. Some of those now proposed to be made subjects for legislation, I humbly think, might be more properly enforced on functionaries, as the spirit in which they ought to govern, than as legal enactments. I allude to the admission of natives to offices of trust and emolument, which is already acted upon ; the abolition of distinctions, from colour, religion, or birth ; and, even-

* Even an enactment of this effect must, however, be framed with great caution and delicacy : an Afghan would proceed to the most desperate extremities if an attempt were made to violate his Zanana, by releasing a female slave. Are we prepared, moreover, forcibly to emancipate the slaves of our Loubadars and other native officers, and without an indemnification ?

tually of slavery. The enactment of the two former provisions, it seems to me, would produce injury rather than benefit, by raising to the character of legal rights what should only be moral pretensions, allowable according to circumstances, on which the local governments alone can safely decide. I go much further than is expressed in the letter in pronouncing the latter provision, however desirable the end to which it points, to be most dangerous, in the actual state of society in India, with reference to that branch of the national institutions; and, in fact, there is nothing in the situation of slavery in that country which approaches at all to that of the same class in the West Indies."

On the same evening, in the House of Lords, the Marquis of Lansdowne brought the affairs of India before the House, and in the course of his speech he said, "Trial by jury was introduced into Ceylon with great effect by Sir Alexander Johnstone: one great benefit indirectly arose from its introduction—the entire abolition of slavery in that island! Your lordships will also have to consider the best means of carrying into effect, in the East Indies, that which this country is now engaged in attempting in other quarters—I mean the abolition of slavery. I am perfectly aware, my lords, that the system of slavery in the East Indies is exceedingly different from that which exists in the West Indies, and that its abolition in the East may be attended with circumstances of still greater difficulty than in the West, inasmuch as it is connected with circumstances of caste, &c., affecting the social condition of the inhabitants over which the dominion of the law has been hitherto exercised but with little effect. But, because there are difficulties in the way, my lords, it by no means follows that the attempt should not be made, guided by all the restrictions and concessions which the importance of the subject demands; and on this subject, also, my lords, it is proposed to appoint a Commission of Inquiry. It is very possible that, even if slavery were to be abolished, certain distinctions of caste might still stand in the way, which the law could not reach; but, at all events, even in that case it will acquit itself, by denouncing and prohibiting the system as illegal."

Lord Ellenborough replied, saying, that the Commission with respect to slaves will consist of five commissioners, with a salary of £6,000 a year each, and will cost £30,000 per annum; but as it is to be a travelling commission, the expense will far exceed this estimate; for they will be obliged to carry with them a complete establishment of secretaries and officers. The travelling expenses of this set of commissioners cannot be less than £15,000 a year. But, it appears we are to extend those beneficial measures to the slaves in India, which are about being so happily settled with regard to the slaves in the West India colonies. The noble Marquis admits that the state of the slaves in India is very different from what it is in the West Indies. Slavery it is not, according to our notions of that state, but the mildest condition of domestic servitude. Those whom we call slaves, are in fact, treated as the children of the master!

There are parts of India, no doubt, where the state of the slaves is of a more severe description—in Malabar, for instance ; but, then the noble Marquis himself admitted that their state of slavery was a slavery of caste. You cannot destroy the prejudices of mankind : you can make no alteration, by law, in the established principles of Asiatic society ; but, will you make none in the feelings of the country ? Is it not the first violent attack upon property, upon caste, upon every thing which is held in veneration by the native of India ? You cannot pass that enactment without creating a feeling which may, and probably will, lead to insurrection in every part of India. It is insanity to make the attempt. Besides, if you must abolish slavery in India, it is unnecessary to do so by act of parliament. The government has all the power to abolish it now : it is only to issue a declaration, saying, that on the 12th of April, 1837, every slave in India shall be free. But, in so saying, I consider that it would, in other words, be declaring that on the 12th of April, 1837, there shall be insurrection in every part of India. I will venture to call to your lordships' recollection the words of that discreet and able man, the late Sir Thomas Munro, on this subject. He says, that "the consideration of measures proper to be taken, with respect to the state of slavery found to exist in India, is a subject of great delicacy and of considerable difficulty, and we are of opinion that this is a matter in which more good is to be expected from the gradual operation of justice and policy, administered in the spirit of kindness, and in favour of the personal liberty of the slaves, than from any direct interference on the part of government." That is the wise and considerate opinion of Sir Thomas Munro ; and I know not a person in this country, who is at all acquainted with India, who does not venerate the memory of that man, as the greatest benefactor of the native population of India, and the ablest administrator that ever appeared in that country. Upon his authority, I call upon his Majesty's ministers, and upon your lordships, to pause before you pass a parliamentary enactment which will shake the very foundations of your power in India, because it will shake the confidence which every man entertains in the justice and honour of the English government.

MORAL CONDITION OF THE SOUTHERN STATES OF AMERICA.

Why are we laboring to abolish slavery ? Why are we holding meetings, making speeches, passing resolutions, scattering our publications on the wings of the four winds, putting forth every effort which a moral influence can exert ? What are the great motives which actuate us ? Is it because the slave is enduring extreme bodily anguish ? Is it because he is chained, because he is scourged, because he is driven into the field or the sugar house to toil from morn till night unrequited, because he has poor clothing and spare diet, because the

system is all bloody and horrible with bodily sufferings of its victims? Certainly not. This is bad enough, but it is not the great motive which should excite us.—It is because the slave is a *man*, created in the image of God, possessing an immortal spirit, which oppression is polluting and degrading. It is because slavery is cramping and crushing the intellect, is dragging down the mind from its high eminence, and giving it over to the bondage of passion and darkness and vice, is violating all the holiest, most noble and ennobling affections of the human heart, is perverting the spiritual nature of man, putting into subjection, not merely the limbs, but the reason, the conscience, the higher faculties. We are moved by the influences of slavery on the moral nature of the slave—on the soul, on the spirit which is within him.

But this is not all. The motives which act on us are not confined to sympathy for the oppressed.—Could it be proved to us that emancipation would not bring the least benefit to the slave, could it be proved to us that his intellect is of such a caste that freedom could not elevate him, that he must remain for ever degraded, despised, an outcast from all virtue and knowledge, still we would advocate immediate abolition with undiminished zeal. And why would we advocate it? Because of the demoralizing influences of slavery on the whites. This system is not only accursed to the slave, but it is also accursed in its effects on the oppressor. It is polluting, deadening, subversive of all the high qualities of human nature. It is sweeping into one great charnel-house of moral corruption and death the spiritual energies of the South. It is not only taking away the Bible from the slave, but it is taking away the blessed principles and doctrines of that book from the master himself. It is not only keeping the poor black man in the darkness of heathenism, but it is taking away from the oppressor himself the sweet consolations of the religion of Jesus Christ. Religious forms and institutions are in many places but little revered. The Sabbath is desecrated, awfully broken and profaned. It is a grand holiday among the slaves, who make it an occasion of sensual indulgence and pleasure; and the whites, who have grown up amid such corrupting influences, pay it little regard. The churches are in some places almost desolate. The wing of the destroying angel is above them, slavery is pressing like an incubus on their moral energies. The manners and habits and principles of the young are fearfully perverted. Infidelity is ripe at the South. Christianity is fleeing before the unhallowed influences of slavery, and giving place to the cold, the cheerless doctrines of deism. Men high in official dignity and power, men who sway the mind of the South, are casting their hopes and faith and morals adrift on the dark tide of infidel speculation. This is not mere assertion.—It is corroborated by the testimony of those who have had extensive opportunities to gain information, of visitors, of persons who were born and educated in the midst of the evil. It has been told to us by the living voices of accurate observers, and men of undoubted veracity. The tidings which come to us of public mail robberies, of quarrels, of bloody strifes, the infliction of Lynch law, open-day murders, whippings, hangings and burnings in that land of bondage, confirm it—Charleston, Vicksburg, New Orleans, and St. Louis confirm it.

Nor is the demoralizing influence of slavery confined to that portion of the country where it exists. The peculiar institutions of the South, the morals which oppression generates, re-act upon the North.—New England is involved. The principles and manners of the Pilgrims, which should have descended as an heir-loom to their posterity, have been corrupted, have been shaken, and in some degree swept away by it. The communication and intercourse which is con-

stantly going on between these two portions of the United States, cannot but produce an effect. Our religious institutions, the morals of the people of the North, are not safe while slavery exists. They will be perverted, contaminated, perhaps destroyed. The sea of corruption, of vice and passion and irreligion, which slavery has poured upon the South, is rolling its black waves over our own beloved New England. It is sweeping sound principle, that stern adherence to rectitude and truth which characterized our fathers, away into the yawning gulf of unbridled license and atheism. There is a pestilence established, and contagion is spreading far and wide among us. We must destroy slavery, or that will destroy our own religious institutions and ourselves.

Nor are our civil institutions secure, while our morals, the morals of our rulers, are thus becoming corrupt. He whose conscience is perverted is not a safe guide in politics. The reason that will renounce Christianity, that has embraced the fearful errors of deism, ought not to be intrusted with the liberties of a people. It is utterly unworthy of our confidence. If it has erred widely and fearfully on one great subject, what assurance have we that it will not err widely and fearfully on another great subject? If it has gone astray in religion, in questions of morals, how can we trust its decisions in other matters? No. If we would perpetuate the political institutions of our country, if we would render permanent the great principles on which they are founded, *we must abolish slavery*. It is undermining them, it is unsettling our faith in them, it is surely working their destruction. It is corrupting the morals, perverting the religious feelings of the community, and through them aiming a deadly thrust at our civil liberties: what security have we for our rights when we install over us one whose notions of justice are so wickedly estranged that he holds as property his fellow-men; when we place as the keeper of the temple of our freedom a *slave-holder*? None.

Let our opposers, then, tell us, if they choose, what is false, that emancipation will not benefit the slave. We have another argument. We would abolish slavery for our own benefit, and the benefit of the master. We regard our own morals, those of the community in which we reside, the morals of the slaveholder himself. We regard the safety and permanency of our civil and religious institutions.—We wish to enjoy them ourselves, we wish to hand them down uncorrupted and unimpaired to posterity. We wish the religion of our blessed Saviour to have free course and be glorified. We wish to have our rights as men, as American citizens, as Christians, to remain unassailed. We wish to live in peace, and to die in peace, with the assurance that those who come after us will partake of the blessings which are around us, and have their hopes of immortality unshaken. These reasons are all powerful; and instead of growing cold, and dilatory, and discouraged, we should remember the condition of the South and the North, the condition of the slave, and the master, and the freemen of New England, and make more energetic, self-denying, and persevering efforts than we have ever yet made.—*From the Emancipator.*

FOREIGN SLAVE TRADE.

No. I.

We have been favoured with a sight of the proofs of a deeply interesting pamphlet on the Foreign Slave Trade, about to be issued from the press. It is entitled "A brief account of the Foreign Slave Trade, from the date of the English Abolition Act to the present time," and is drawn up by the respected Secretary of the Anti-slavery Society with considerable judgment, and an intimate acquaintance with the documentary evidence which bears upon this most guilty and diabolical traffic. We hope our readers will give it an attentive perusal, and with a view of inducing them to do so, shall extract a series of brief articles from its painfully interesting pages.

FRANCE.

"In the Treaty of Paris, in the year 1814, the French government solemnly concurred in denouncing the slave-trade, as 'repugnant to the principles of natural justice, and of the enlightened age in which we live.' The king also engaged to unite his efforts with those of his Britannic Majesty, in the then approaching Congress (at Vienna), with a view to obtain its universal abolition. But, notwithstanding the treaty the King of France had concluded, and the formal declaration of the Congress, to which he was a party, he stipulated, that his subjects should be permitted to trade in slaves for *five years* longer; but which in fact, was not a permission to continue, but a decree for creating it anew; for it is a well-known fact, that at the time of the signature of the treaty not a single French vessel, nor one livre of French capital, was engaged in the slave-trade. Nothing more however, at that time, was to be obtained from Louis XVIII. On the return of Napoleon to the throne, he issued a decree (March, 1815) for the immediate and total abolition of the French slave-trade. He retained the crown for too short a time to allow of his decree being carried into effect, even if he were sincere in his intentions; and the restoration of Louis to the throne, again rejoiced the hearts of the incipient French slave-traders, with the prospect of being able, for five years, to enjoy uninterruptedly the privilege of 'desolating Africa, degrading Europe, and afflicting humanity,' by means of a traffic, thus alike designated and secured to them by their Sovereign. Of this permission they lost no time in availing themselves, and the coast of Africa accordingly swarmed with slavers under the French flag. The little difficulty which Napoleon had found on issuing his decree having inspired hopes of success, the most active and persevering negotiations were immediately recommended by the British government to obtain an immediate abolition.

"The new negotiations were successful; and on the 30th July, 1815, Prince Talleyrand announced to Lord Castlereagh, that the king had issued directions, 'that, on the part of France, the traffic in slaves should cease, from the present time, every where and for ever.' This announcement was followed by an additional article to the treaty concluded at Paris on the 20th November, 1814, between France and the allied powers. By this article, they engaged to renew conjointly their efforts, with a view of securing final success to those principles which they had proclaimed in the declaration of the 8th of February, 1815.

"The trade however, still continued to be carried on by French subjects to an enormous extent, and its suppression was the object of long-continued and anxious negociation on the part of the British government. It would fill a folio volume were we to give even an abstract of the reports of the enormities committed under the French flag, and of the repeated representations of these facts, brought under the notice of the French government by the ministers of the British crown, which were received *civilly, but which were never redressed*; nor did the French government adopt any new measure, till January, 1817, when an 'Ordonnance,' dated 8th January, was issued, containing the following article:—

"'Every vessel, whether French or foreign, which shall attempt to introduce into any of our colonies, purchased blacks, shall be confiscated; and the Captain, if a Frenchman, shall be held incapable of holding a command.

"'The whole cargo shall in like manner be confiscated, although not consisting of slaves. With respect to the negroes, they shall be employed on public works of utility in the colony.'

"After renewed negociations, a convention was signed at Paris, on the 30th November, 1831. By this convention the mutual right of search was conceded, under certain limitations; and the high contracting parties agreed to invite the other maritime powers to accede to it within as short a period as possible; and in March, 1833, a supplementary convention to the above, was signed at Paris, by which it was stipulated, that any vessel *equipped for the purpose of carrying slaves*, shall be liable to seizure and condemnation equally with those having slaves actually on board.

"This article is one of great importance. Under the old treaty, a cruizer might blockade a river, in which twenty slavers might be lying, with all their slaves on shore, within twenty yards of them, ready for embarkation, with wood, water, and every thing ready on board for a start, and the cruizer could not touch one of them, unless a slave or slaves were actually on board; the universal mode therefore was, to keep them on shore until a favourable opportunity for shipping them occurred, when, in the space of an hour, the vessel could receive them and take her departure, under cover of a fog, or with any change of wind, that might have driven the cruizer off her station.

"By this supplementary convention, it is also stipulated, that all vessels condemned for having been engaged in the slave-trade, shall be broken up. This will prevent their owners from so immediately renewing their slave-trading speculations, as they have heretofore done, by purchasing the condemned vessels; it will also tend to diminish the temptation to engage in the traffic, by lessening its profits."

The concession by France of a mutual right of search in the case of slave ships, is unquestionably one of the very highest importance, much as that right is clogged in its exercise by the stipulations which accompany it. To these restraints, however, we now merely advert, whilst we wish to call attention more particularly to the limits which are prescribed by the convention, to the exercise of the right in question on the coast of Africa. Those limits appear to be far too narrow to admit of giving complete effect to the benevolent object of the contracting powers. They still leave a wide scope of coast along which the French Slave Trade will still enjoy an entire freedom from interruption by British cruisers.

The only part of the western coast of Africa, to which the right conceded by this convention extends, are those which lie between 15° North, and 10° South of the equator, and it takes in no part of the eastern coast of that continent. Two very extensive lines of coast are thus wholly excluded from the operation of the convention, from which a very large exportation has continued to take place until a very recent period; viz.: first the western coast of Africa from the latitude of 10° South, to the latitude of Cape Negro, in about 17° South, including the great Slave Marts of a considerable portion of Angola, and the whole of Benguela; and, second, the whole of the eastern coast from the Equator, to 25° or 30° South latitude.

The magnitude of the Slave Trade recently carried on by other nations, from these parts of Africa, may be seen by referring to the correspondence of the British functionaries in Brazil with the Foreign Office.

Of the immense numbers of slaves imported into Brazil, a considerable portion were brought from the east coast of Africa, viz: Mosambique, Qualimano, and Intrambana, about 14000 from Angola and 6000 from Benguela, making more than a third, indeed three-eighths of the whole import.

It is obvious, therefore, that slaves may still be safely carried under the French flag without any interruption from British cruisers.

“Notwithstanding the severe and repeated disappointments which have attended our negociations with France on this subject for so many years, it affords the most heartfelt gratification, that our treaties with this nation are now, not only in themselves in a very improving state, but that her municipal laws and regulations, and the execution of them, appear to be in accordance with them. The consequence has been such, as under the circumstances was to be expected. According to the last returns from the coast of Africa, there were scarcely any slave-ships to be found under the French flag.

“France has thus redeemed herself from the stigma under which she had long lain, of being indifferent to the suppression of the slave-trade; and instead of the papers annually laid before Parliament on this subject, being filled with accounts of numberless atrocities committed under her flag, and reports of fruitless representations made to her government thereupon, they now exhibit her, as uniting her efforts with those of Great Britain, to obtain (alas! unavailingly) the accession of the American government to the conventions above alluded to.

SPAIN.

“To trace the history of our negociations with Spain, on the subject of the slave-trade, and the shameless infractions of the treaties which the government of that country had entered into for its suppression, it would be necessary to transcribe many a folio page from the papers annually laid before Parliament. The very able and luminous résumé of these transactions, which was drawn up by Mr. Villiers, our ambassador at the court of Madrid, and presented by him to the Spanish government, on the 31st December, 1833, alone occupies six such folios. To this résumé, however, we will only briefly allude. In 1814, the king of Spain pledged himself to take the subject of the slave-trade into

consideration. After a negotiation carried on with great zeal and ability on the part of our government, a treaty was concluded on the 23rd September, 1817, at Madrid, having for its object the abolition of this disgraceful traffic. By this treaty, the king of Spain engaged to abolish the traffic in negroes 'throughout the entire dominions of Spain, on the 30th day of May, 1820,' and it was stipulated, that north of the equator the trade should 'cease immediately on the exchange of the ratification of this treaty.' On the other hand, England engaged to pay to the king of Spain the sum of £400,000 sterling, as an indemnity for losses which Spanish subjects engaged in the traffic might suffer as a necessary consequence of its abolition, and by article 6, the king of Spain bound himself to adopt effectual measures for its suppression. The treaty also stipulated a mutual right of search, under strict limitations, and constituted Mixed Commission Courts, for the adjudication of such ships as might be seized *with slaves actually on board*. It was soon discovered, that the limitations of the right of seizure being thus confined, rendered the treaty of little effect. 'It was this clause which first exhibited the imperfection of the provisions laid down in this treaty, and its accompanying instructions, for the effectual abolition of the commerce in slaves. One of the first instances which occurred of seizure, was a case in which *one* slave alone was found on board, the rest having been disposed of; but it soon became a practice, on a slave-vessel perceiving a cruiser in chase, to run ashore, or make for the nearest cove or harbour, and there land her living cargo before she could be actually come in contact with; an evasion of the letter of the law, which enabled the slaver to brave the power of his pursuers in the very act of perpetrating his crime, and by waiting a convenient opportunity, to re-ship the unfortunate wretches he had put on shore, and continue his voyage with impunity.'

"To rectify this, an explanatory article was agreed to between the two contracting parties, by which it was stipulated, that on proof of slaves *having been on board*, the ship should be equally liable to condemnation, as if they were actually on board at the time of capture.

"Some laws and regulations were also made by the Spanish government for the ostensible purpose of putting down the slave-trade, to which however his Spanish majesty's subjects paid no respect; indeed, they were perfectly nugatory, and the trade was continued undiminished. Representations and remonstrances on this subject were made by the British government, month after month, and year after year, which were received with promises of attention, but which were treated with absolute neglect.

"The British government failed not, also, to urge the necessity which existed for a new treaty, containing stipulations better calculated for the attainment of the end in view; and at length, on the 9th of September, 1834, Mr. Villiers informed Lord Palmerston, that the Spanish government had formally 'admitted the right of Great Britain to claim a complete execution of the treaty of 1817, for the suppression of the slave-trade;' and on the 28th of June, 1835, a new treaty was signed between Great Britain and Spain, the first article of which declares 'the slave-trade on the part of Spain to be totally and finally abolished in all parts of the world.' The second, that within two months from the exchange of the ratifications a penal law shall be promulgated throughout the Spanish dominions, inflicting a severe punishment to all Spanish subjects who shall, under any pretext whatsoever, take any part in the traffic in slaves. The fourth, and five following articles, renew the right of mutual search, and contain the regulations under which it shall be carried into effect, and also the

regulations regarding the establishment of the Mixed Commission Courts for the adjudication of prizes, &c. The tenth contains the equipment article, already alluded to under the head of France; and article 12 stipulates, that all vessels condemned under the treaty shall forthwith be broken up.

"It is ardently to be hoped, that the Spanish government may be induced not to break their faith in regard to this treaty in the scandalous manner they have hitherto done with regard to all the treaties and engagements they have hitherto entered into, for the ostensible purpose of abolishing the slave-trade."

A BYE-STANDER'S ESTIMATE OF SLAVE-HOLDING CHRISTIANS.

(*To the Editor of "Slavery in America."*)

London, January 2, 1837.

REVEREND SIR:

When I first heard of the existence of your valuable miscellany, I was deterred from offering my feeble aid by the exclusively religious tone of the publication. I am one of that numerous class of men with whom religion is rather a longing and a yearning, coming in upon them in the pauses of the world, than "a sure and certain hope." I understand devotion rather than feel it; I envy the devout rather than imitate them; and thus, at the thoughtful hour of midnight, when the Angel of Sleep flies far away from my uneasy pillow, it is with a doubtful, timid, ineffectual voice, I call for aid from above, and implore the Comforter—

"To draw around an aching breast
The curtain of repose."

This want of confidence extends even to my communings with those whom I assume, from their professions, to have reached a position which I can only wish for; and I therefore shrank from the idea of joining in a labour which was to be advanced, not only by argument, but by prayer. If I cannot pray well for myself, said I, how can I pray at all for my brother?

By the time, however, that I had read a few numbers of the work, a very remarkable change took place in my ideas. I found the very men, the very women, whose brutality and impiety ought to draw upon them the execration of civilized mankind, religious professors! I found this brutality, this impiety, indirectly encouraged, because feebly and lukewarmly checked, by many of the churches of Christ in Britain! I found the scene of the orgies of sin and horror in America, not the public-stews, but the dwelling-houses of Christian families! I found, at the very table of the Lord, the blaspheming priest drive away from equal communion the brethren of mankind! Why should I hold back, cried

I, indignantly? Where is the sanctity which I fear to pollute by the breath of sin? Can any worldly-mindedness, however base, any blasphemy, however horrible, outrage such ears as these? Let me join boldly the ranks of those who are true to themselves, and to their God; although no professed and admitted soldier of Christ, let me at least fight in the same cause—Who knows but my efforts may receive a blessing on account of their tendency, which would be denied to them on account of my unworthy self?

The thing which struck me most in those pages of shame and horror which you have opened to the public, was the conduct of the churches of Christ in Britain to the churches of the obscene and blood-stained Moloch of the southern states of America; I cannot comprehend on what principle the former acknowledge for a moment an identity of communion. To my simple understanding the question seems to lie in a nut-shell. I would say, in a word, that either the Law and the Prophets are false, or that the Americans are blasphemers. I would say, that they who acknowledge them to be Christians, no matter of what denomination, are guilty of treason to their Lord and Master.

The crimes and vices of the Negroes are, for the most part, directly chargeable upon the whites. Do you blame the Negro-girl for living in a state of promiscuous concubinage, which she cannot by possibility avoid? Is not her mistress,—the white *lady*,—who permits, sanctions, or commands prostitution, the worse harlot of the two? Do you blame the Negro for theft, for whom no law of *meum* and *tuum* exists? Is not his master the worse thief of the two? Do you blame the slave for lying, who was never taught any principle of honour, except by the lash, the instrument of dishonour? Is not his master, who took into his own hands the formation of his character, the worse liar of the two? Do you blame the slave for cowardice who submits to be flogged by a fellow-man? Is not the executioner who takes advantage of the weakness, arising from the ignorance of his victim, the baser coward of the two? Slave-holders, male and female, should, in my opinion, not only be cut off from communion with all Christians who are not Judases, but turned away from with disdain by all men of the world who call themselves gentlemen, and by all women of the world who do not walk the midnight streets.

I am grieved to see, by one of your numbers, that the *arguments* (!) of the slave-holding professors are sometimes treated with respect, and that the logical victory gained at Glasgow was made a matter of boast. This is either pure imbecility, or it is something so much worse that I am afraid to give it a name. The arguments of the slave-holders are such as would cause a boy of the first form to be flogged for stupidity: they are, in fact, so ludicrously absurd, that on a less solemn subject, they could not be answered with a grave countenance. Had the apostle of slavery presumed to insult so grossly the ears of men of the world, on a subject unconnected with our base and foolish prejudices, he would

have run a great risk of being tarred and feathered, and sent home thus to his own country.

In conclusion, for the present, Mr. Editor, I have only to say, that a fearful stain has been thrown in our day upon the universal church of Christ. Let those pray who have faith; let those weep who have sorrow; but, let all those who have courage stand forth openly to the good fight. If you think it prudent to accept of the aid of one who will stand upon no punctilio, and admit of no compromise, with the enemies of God and nature, I freely offer it.

Your obedient servant,

LEITCH RITCHIE.

MISSISSIPPI SLAVE-DRIVING.

The Mississippi Christian Herald, a Methodist paper, but deeply involved in the support of slavery, tells with great eclat of the following exploits at "driving" in that region.

THE COTTON BRAG.—The cotton exploit, cracked up the other day in the Grand Gulf Advertiser, has been beaten on Mr. Lapice's plantation opposite this city. "A Planter" in a communication to the Natchez Courier, states as follows:

"On the same day that Mr. Coffee made his brag picking, Mr. Lapice, opposite this place, made fine picking with all his force, the highest picked by any one hand was 210 pounds. Previous to that time, however, fine pickings were made in the hills in this vicinity. On different plantations as high as 260, 250, and 245, have been picked. The last week on Dr. Calhoun's place, they have averaged upwards of 10,000 pounds a day, the entire week.—Six of his hands, on Saturday last, picked upwards of 1800 pounds."

We have learned from good authority that picking commenced much earlier than the 15th of August, certainly a week or ten days earlier in Wilkinson county in this state—and no doubt the days' works were as great.

Rev. Dr. Nelson, in his "letter to the Presbyterians of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri," lets us into the secret of these "cotton brags," in the following graphic style.

"Another train of facts with which you are acquainted: you know the following case to be an uncolored picture, in sections where slaves are numerous. I saw the man who managed as overseer for one of your wealthy citizens, who was famed for his hospitality, good company, &c. The salary of the overseer was enough to enable him to purchase a slave of his own annually, which he worked with those of his employer. I heard the way Christians by profession speak of this man. I saw

the way they received him. The language and the meaning of it are both familiar to you. They said, 'Mr. ——— is a good manager. He gives his servants plenty to eat, and good warm clothing; but he makes them know their places. He does not starve them, but he will have them to obey.' I will remind you of the way he secured this commendation. *The whip he carried had a short handle, but a lash several yards long.* It was said that he could use this with so much skill, as to stand at a distance and lay open the skin as though it had been done with a knife. Those he walked after in the field knew not to even seemingly loiter, from the rising of the sun until it set.

They then knew not to leave their quarters for the night. If the servants of others in the neighbourhood, after working hard all day, felt a wish to visit and enjoy the society of some to whom they were attached, this being the only earthly pleasure which they could ever reach, the overseer at dusk mounted his horse, and with gilt spurs and polished gloves rode the land, and when he met a man with skin not colored like his own, he stopped and demanded his pass. If this was not produced, whatever pleas of excuse were urged, mingled with entreaties for pardon and permission to go unpunished, this 'good manager,' for his amusement and for the diversion of his companions, during these entreaties would pretend extreme deafness, and make the suppliant speak at the top of his voice, asking a long list of questions, and holding his ear close to the mocked one, make him scream his answers. *Then taking his position at the proper distance for the fair sweep of his whip, he would command the sad hearted one to dance. He would make him do it, and whilst he was dancing, would inflict his skilful blows.* Then he would approach, act the deaf man, and renew the conversation; alternating this amusement until satisfied, and then go to seek another feast."

LIBERTY OF SPEECH.

Soon after the suppression of the Anti-Slavery Society, in one of the New England Colleges, the students were forbidden to read essays on the subject, as a College exercise. The following was read the next week before the senior class. The president of the college, who was in the chair, was unable to object to it, as a violation of his decree, inasmuch, as not a word on the subject of slavery could be found in the piece.

ENERGY OF CHARACTER.

Some men have a spirit of decision which will not suffer them to remain neutral on any question of importance. No sooner is such a case presented to a man of this character, than a hasty decision is followed by immediate energetic action. This haste may sometimes throw him on the wrong side, and he may be the means of much harm; still, such an one, however blundering, cannot fail, if his motives be right, of accomplishing far more good in the course of his life, than one of those who will do nothing for fear of doing wrong. And when they are right in their plans and methods, this promptness and energy of character are truly invaluable.

The apostle Paul was a man of this stamp. No sooner has he completed his education, than, being "exceedingly zealous" of the law, he enters upon a scheme for exterminating Christianity. It is not probable that he engaged in this enterprise without some consideration. We may imagine him consulting with some of the chief priests, better acquainted than himself with the sect to be suppressed,—“What are they?” inquires the young Pharisee.—“They are *fanatics* and *enthusiasts*,” answers an old priest, “who maintain opinions too absurd to be refuted.” “They are *disorganizers*,” says another, “for wherever their doctrines prevail, the son dishonoureth his father, the daughter riseth up against her mother, the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law, and a man’s foes are they of his own household.” “Their doctrines are *incendiary*, and make a tumult among the people,” adds a third, who had lent his own influence to these mobs to suppress arguments he could not answer, and who did not seem to see the monstrous injustice of charging the guilt of a mob to its victims. “They are *traitors*, and will cause the Romans to come and take away both our place and our nation,” rejoined the fourth, who enjoyed a fat office by the favor of the oppressors of his nation. “Nor is the character of their leaders,” adds another, “better than their principles. Matthew the publican, was one of the most notorious speculators in all Galilee. Can such a man advocate the truth?” “Another acknowledged leader,” continues a fifth, “is a perjurer, who once disavowed the sect under oath.” “This same Peter,” adds the sixth, “uses the most opprobrious epithets the Hebrew language can furnish. He calls our whole nation murderers.” “Their professed Head and Founder was always offensive to the people,” says the seventh. “It is in evidence,” says the eight, “that he threatened to destroy the temple of our holy religion.” “And worse than that, he called our most venerable men and purest pharisees *hypocrites*,” says the ninth. “Nay,” says the tenth, “his projects of destruction were boundless. It is in evidence that he threatens to kindle a fire upon the earth. His very words were taken down. ‘*What will I if it be already kindled?*’” Then follow in quick succession other charges, such as malice can at any time pick up, blacker if possible, though less authentic. The well known history of Judas serves for the conclusion.

Such probably was the information on which Paul founded his opinion of the Christian system. As he considers the standing of his informers, men venerable for their age—men of tried character and high ecclesiastical standing, (the D.D.'s of their day,) can he doubt the justice of their allegations?

[Here the reader was interrupted by the Rev. Dr., and the following dialogue ensued.

President—I want to inquire how you found out all this—how do you know Paul went to the chief priests?

Student—The Bible informs us that he received his authority of them.

President—Well, how do you know they were men venerable for their age and standing?

Student—The term chief priest implies they were venerable for their *standing*; and it was a post which could not easily be attained without a considerable advance in age.

President—Go on, sir!]

He receives his commission and withdraws. So far his guilt appears comparatively small. He has acted "ignorantly and in unbelief." True, a hasty decision is wrong. But in another aspect he appears more deeply guilty. Suppose Christianity false, in this respect he was not the less guilty because it was false. Paul knew that the Christians were MEN—that they had the rights of men. He would have shrunk with horror from the idea of robbing them of their *money* by false imprisonment and beating.—But he was willing to take from them by violence a right far dearer than money, the right of expressing and defending their opinions, and of complying with the duties of their consciences towards God. He sought by this means to avoid a gulf of anarchy into which he supposed the nation about to plunge, believing, probably, the end would justify the means. But "they that take the sword shall perish by the sword." Little did the Sanhedrim think that their children must drain to the dregs that bitter cup their fathers had mingled for the Christians. But *Romish power* is never slow to plead a precedent for the suppression of offensive opinions, and in vain do persecutors pray for deliverance when persecuted in their turn. The spirit of persecution is always the same. It is the atmosphere in which tyrants draw their breath. It renders hatred desperate.—Paul was so full of it that he breathed out threatenings and slaughter; so exceeding mad was he against the Christians, that not even *women* could escape his fury. His whole character can be summed up in two words of his own—he was "a persecutor and injurious."

But of whatever injury his natural impetuosity made him the cause, this same trait afterwards made ample amends for it. After his conversion, his decision of character was as conspicuous as before.—He declared the truth with such energy and success, that he was charged with having "turned the world upside down." He could address an infuriated multitude till they "cried out and threw off their clothes and cast dust into the air." Four times he suffered the penalty of the *Lynch-law* of that day. Thrice whipped, once stoned, but still he persevered in preaching the truth, however unwelcome, in every city and village, till the mobocracy, since misnamed the majesty of the people, compelled him to fly for his life.

Paul was no fence man. He was ready to commit himself at once to what he believed to be the truth. He was a true radical—presenting a noble contrast to the calculating, temporizing spirit of expediency.

The week after the suppression of the society, mentioned above, the same

class had a debate. The question selected by the disputants was, "Ought a Peace Society to be formed in College?" During the debate, the *forbidden subject* was adroitly kept out of sight, while the arguments of the President, for suppressing the Society, were deliberately advanced by one side, *word for word*, and faithfully examined by the other.

A SCENE ON THE OHIO.

To the Editor of the Emancipator.

Steamboat Niagara, Dec. 1st, 1836.

I have just been witnessing a scene which is enough to make humanity weep. I have often heard of chains, of tears, and blood. I have heard your paper speak of husbands being torn from their wives, and parents from their children, to be sold into southern servitude; but, just at this moment, I have been an eye-witness of *all this*; and, as I grasp my pen to drop you a line, my heart beats high with holy indignation: and who, that has a spark of manly feeling, or a drop of human sympathy, would not feel, when he beholds a company of men and women, immortal as the God who made them, loaded with chains, and subject to all the cruelty which man can inflict, only for the crime of having "a skin not colored like our own?" Learning that there were twenty or thirty slaves on board, bound for the southern market, I was induced to go down and see if it were true that they were happier and in a better condition than the poor of the free state. As I approached the unhappy captives, one raised his galling chains, and a tear glistened in his dark eye, and he seemed to say, "Am I not a man, and a brother?" With him, I had the following conversation verbatim:—

Where are you going?

Slave.—To Mississippi, sir.

Where have you been living?

Slave.—In Orange county, Virginia.

To whom were you sold?

Slave.—To that gentleman yonder, (pointing to his present master.)

How much did he give for you?

Slave.—One thousand dollars, Sir.

What have you got that chain on your hands for?

Slave.—My master had it put on to keep me from running away.

Don't you like to go to Mississippi?

Slave.—O, no! I rather die than go, and leave my wife and children.

Then you have a family.

Slave.—O, yes, sir; I have a wife and ten children.

Do you love your wife?

Slave.—I love my wife as well as any man in the world.

Did your wife feel very bad when you left her?

Slave.—Indeed, master, she must feel very bad.—She follow me to the blacksmith's shop, and see the iron put round my neck, and this chain on my hands, and she cry like she would break her heart. O, I was sorry she come to see me start.

Do you ever expect to see your wife and children ?

Slave.—O, no, never in this world.

And are you prepared to meet them in another ?

Slave.—I 'fraid not, master ; though I don't want to live.

Well, you must repent of your sins, and believe in Christ, and then you will go to heaven, where there will be no chains, nor slaves.

Slave.—I will try, master ; but I have so much trouble, and think so much about my wife and children, I 'fraid I can't.

To him and the other slaves, I tried to preach Christ. O, let it never again be told in Gath, that the slave is not possessed of all the finer feelings of the soul. We sometimes hear it said that the slave would not take his liberty, if he could get it : and yet here is a man who prefers death to southern bondage ; for he told me himself, he hoped he should die as soon as he got there.

After witnessing this scene, I called some of my friends from the cabin down, to let the galling chains and the eloquent tears of the slave, speak to them of the sinfulness of that system which reduces man to a thing, and obliterates the image of the blessed God.

Yours, in gospel bonds,

T. D. B.

AMERICAN KIDNAPPERS.

THE whole North seems to be infested with these demons. It really is safer and easier to kidnap men in America than in Africa. That it should be so in the slave states is not surprising ; but that such outrages should be perpetrated in the *free* states is horrible. Such monsters ought to be hung ; but what shall we say of the state of public feeling which sanctions them ?

SLAVE CASE IN CINCINNATI.

(From the Cincinnati Daily Gazette.)

The following details of a case recently tried before a justice of the peace, are laid before the public to apprise them, in what manner our laws are sometimes administered by those into whose hands they are committed ; and that a just estimate may be put upon the conduct of those concerned in the case referred to.

On Tuesday morning last, the 25th instant, between eleven and twelve o'clock, I was called upon to appear before William Doty, Esq., a magistrate in Cincinnati, on behalf of a coloured boy, known to many of our citizens by the name of Frank, who had been apprehended under a warrant from said magistrate, charged with being the slave of a person living in Newport, Kentucky. When I arrived at the office, having inquired into the nature of the case, and being impressed with a deep sense of its importance, I asked, as a matter of course, that the case should be laid over until the afternoon of the next day ; which was objected to by the claimant of the boy in the most positive terms ; and I was told by the magistrate, at first, that the boy had sufficient time to

prepare for his trial. Believing it impossible, under the circumstances of the case, that an indulgence so reasonable, and in strict accordance with the spirit of our constitution and laws, should for a moment be denied—it being the first time that his counsel had come to a knowledge of the case—I did not suppose an effort necessary to obtain it. But, perceiving from the aspect of the case, that I might be disappointed in this reasonable expectation, some exertion appeared to me necessary to obtain it; and a respite was granted until the early hour of eight, next morning; the boy being in the meantime confined in jail.

This short interval I employed in drafting a bill in chancery against the claimant, on behalf of the boy, for the purpose of obtaining an injunction to arrest the proceedings under the warrant, having become satisfied from previous indications, that such a step was necessary to a fair and impartial trial of the case. During the afternoon of the same day, I presented the bill in chancery to his Honor, Judge Este, who, after due consideration, promptly allowed an injunction staying all proceedings upon giving bond in 500 dollars.

It being nearly night before this arrangement was effected, I met John E. Williams, who proffered his services on this injunction bond, provided Wm O'Hara, a respectable coloured man, would join him. I saw O'Hara the same evening, obtained his assent to the proposition, and told him that Williams would call on him to effect that object. O'Hara informs me that he was placed under a misapprehension in relation to what was required of him. Relying upon the faith of Williams to comply with his promise, it being his own voluntary offer, I rested quite satisfied until the next morning; when, to my surprise, nothing had been done to perfect the bond.

Had I not been thrown off my guard in the above manner, sufficient bail could have been procured in time. The appointed hour had now arrived; the public offices being scarcely open, and finding the situation in which I was placed, I addressed myself to the indulgence and sound discretion of the magistrate, representing that an injunction had been allowed, and only awaited the signing of the bond to perfect the process; and endeavoured to impress upon his mind the importance of the case, suggesting also, that it was but an act of courtesy due to a superior tribunal, that he should, at least, suspend his action on the case for a short time, until an opportunity was afforded to the unfortunate subject of the suit, to obtain bail. As no injury could arise to the claimants, the boy being in the custody of an officer,—for I knew that several of our most worthy and wealthy citizens would have stepped forward to relieve the oppressed. But in this attempt I was again foiled, by the unrelenting vociferations of the claimant that the time had arrived, and demanded that the trial should proceed.

The boy having been confined in jail until the hour appointed for trial, and having no opportunity to exert myself to procure bail, it appeared to me, that the space of an hour was not too long to ask for that purpose. I should, had it been allowed me, hastened to the clerk's office, and signed the bond myself. A respite until noon was asked. No! An hour or two was requested. No! A half an hour. "You cannot have it; the trial must proceed"—was the fiat of him into whose hands were cast the destinies of the boy. Being altogether unprepared for trial, on account of the absence of material testimony, and it appearing that the witness upon whom the boy chiefly relied was dead, with which fact I was not made acquainted until the moment of trial, the necessity of the case seemed to me imperiously to demand a continuance, and I took the

usual steps to obtain one, but without effect; knowing, that if time were given, other witnesses could be obtained who were acquainted with the same facts. The trial, however, proceeded, if it can bear so decent an appellation: the claimant introducing proof of pedigree, &c., and—mark it!—proved positively the fact, that the boy was born in the city of Pittsburgh, and state of Pennsylvania, in the year 1808—twenty-eight years after the passage of the act of that state for the abolition of slavery; the master of Frank's mother having taken her into that state on his way to Kentucky: which act I produced in evidence, together with the decision of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania on that statute, which may be found in the second volume of Sergeant and Rawle's Reports, page 305.

In the absence of any testimony in behalf of the boy, which the shortness of the time did not permit me to obtain, except such as could be picked up during the progress of the case, I was compelled to rely upon the evidence of the claimant's own witnesses; which, with the law and decision above quoted, made, in my humble opinion, a perfectly clear case in favour of the boy.

The arguments having closed, an attorney from the opposite side of the river appearing on behalf of the claimant, the judgment of the magistrate was immediately pronounced, without a moment's deliberation, in favour of the claimant. And beyond five minutes from that time, the unfortunate boy was beyond the jurisdiction of any court in this state.

Such are substantially the facts as they exist, and can be established by the testimony of several worthy and intelligent citizens, who have since expressed to me their disgust at the proceedings referred to.

A case, upon which the Supreme Court of this or any other state, would not have undertaken, I am sure, to decide without the most deliberate reflection; and one upon which there would have been at least a doubt in the mind of any jurist, who decided upon the spur of the moment, without any deliberation. Such assurance, such confidence in a man's own infallibility, upon a question which was to decide whether the individual was a slave or a free man, is enough to startle every one who gives the subject a moment's attention. The boy had lived in Cincinnati, and so it was proven, for the last seven or eight years, had crossed frequently into Kentucky, almost under the immediate eye of the claimant, yet no claim was set up until the present time, when the above proceedings occurred.

I have known him for the last seven years; and I presume it was this fact that induced him to send for me. He was married about three years ago in this city.

Let it be understood, that I complain of no man for entertaining an honest difference of opinion contrary to my own. But it is to the manner in which a case of such importance, and under circumstances such as were connected with it, was pressed to trial, without, as I do solemnly asseverate, a fair opportunity to prepare for it. In matters involving no more than the amount of five dollars, it is usual for time to be given to prepare for a defence; but, in a case involving the liberty of a human being, it seems that a few days, nay, even a few hours, is too long.

I forbear further comment. Let those who were concerned in the transaction acquit themselves to God, and their own consciences, if they can.

E. WOODRUFF.

THE NEW GOVERNOR'S SPEECH TO THE LEGISLATIVE HOUSES IN JAMAICA.

THOSE of our readers who have the opportunity of seeing the daily or weekly papers, may perhaps have already read the Address of Sir Lionel Smith to the Jamaica House of Assembly; and it is of so important a character as to deserve the trifling additional publicity which its insertion in our pages will secure: at least, that part of it which relates immediately to the character and treatment of the apprenticed part of the population.

The following extract is from the speech of the Governor:

“There is, indeed, one most important subject which I cannot resist submitting to your grave consideration. It is the religious and moral condition of the negroes. No man has had such opportunity of enlarged observation amongst this class as I have had, either in the immediate government of, or eventual control over, seven colonies, and I am sorry to proclaim that they are in this island in a more deplorably backward state than in any other. Yet, Gentlemen, they must be taught to fear God before they can be made to respect the laws. It is physically impossible for the ministers of the Established Church, few in number, with an extended surface of population, to do more than they have done. The first object is to instil the doctrines of Christianity, and not to insist on any particular church discipline. I firmly believe the assistance of the missionaries is most necessary to this end. Gentlemen, we have hardly four years more to watch over the experiment of apprenticeship. Give every facility you can to the *missionaries' labours*. Banish from your minds the idea that they are your enemies. *I will answer with my head for their loyalty and fidelity*. Encourage their peaceable settlement amongst your people; let every four or five contiguous estates combine for the erection of chapel schools; and knowing, as you well do, the attachment of the negro to the place of his birth, and the burial-place of his parents, you may, I sincerely believe, by these means finally locate on your estates a contented peasantry.”

Such is the new Governor's language before a Jamaica House of Assembly. What changing times we live in! A Governor pledging his head for the loyalty of missionaries; and that before a company who had long thirsted for their blood, and were deterred only by fear from taking it! This must have sounded rather grating in their ears. But there might be an understanding that this was to be passed over in silence, as intended for effect, not in the land where it was spoken, but at a distance, where the missionaries were held in somewhat higher repute than they are by Jamaica legislators. And, however gratifying the language of His Excellency may be, we should be doing the poor Negro labourers injustice were we to take it as a proof that in the whole of his administration, the Governor would adhere to the side of the oppressed, or to those who befriended the cause of the oppressed: on this we dare not place much dependence. It appears to be the one object of Sir Lionel Smith to render his administration popular amongst the planters; to show to the government at home that there is one man, at least, that can navigate this boisterous element of passion: and we therefore fear that we shall

see, not the principle of even-handed justice, but of expediency ; yielding to clamour, what he would deny to right, and putting off the evil day by a time-serving and vacillating policy.

The Reply to this Speech by the House is not less novel ; and, could we bring ourselves to give them any credit for sincerity, would be as gratifying as it is novel. They say—

“ We sensibly feel the absolute necessity of giving the negro population the advantages of moral and religious instruction, and fully concur in the sentiment expressed by your Excellency, that man must be taught to fear God before he can be made to respect the laws. Whilst we agree with your Excellency that the first object is to instil the doctrines of Christianity, we cannot forbear declaring our devoted attachment to that form of sound words in which we have been brought up, and expressing our regret that the number of the clergy of the Church is not equal to the spiritual wants of this large colony ; still *we hope that all denominations of Christian teachers will be supported*, whilst they confine themselves to the true and legitimate object of their calling ; and we trust that the beneficent results anticipated by your Excellency, as likely to flow from the labours of the missionaries, may be accomplished.”

And, in a subsequent Address to the Governor, the same assembly take credit to themselves that—

“ Places of worship are at the present moment being erected at a very heavy expense in almost every parish in the island ; a similar extension of missionary chapels is in a like manner in progress. To the labours of the Missionaries no opposition has ever been offered here, while they confined themselves to their own proper and legitimate duties. Your Excellency will find, not only a general desire, but an extreme anxiety pervading the landed proprietors of the colony, to establish schools for the moral and religious instruction of the young people on their properties, without regard to any particular church discipline.”

What extraordinary conversions these ! Would that they were consistent and sincere : but, to engage our confidence, surely they might have expressed some slight measure of penitence at their past misdeeds. It is not our object to taunt them, but to remind them that reformation without repentance is always suspicious ; and, therefore, that some slight indications of sorrow would not have been out of place, when recollecting that many of those who framed this Address were concerned, in 1832, in framing resolutions such as these, that—

“ As sectarianism leads to revolution both in church and state, it behoves us to adopt means to prevent any other than duly authorized ministers of the established Churches of England and Scotland from imparting religious instruction to the slaves ; and, in furtherance of this measure, we call upon all proprietors of estates, or their attorneys, to put down all sectarian meetings on our respective properties ; that our magistracy should be most strongly urged to withhold, for the future, their license to sectarian ministers and their places of worship.”

As, however, no such indications of sorrow are discernible, we will wait until these contradictions in language are either reconciled or retracted ; and our evidence of the sincerity of their conversion must be regulated, not by the language of their dispatches, but by the course of their conduct.

Slavery in America.

No. IX.—MARCH, 1837.

AN ADDRESS, FROM FARMINGTON, NEW YORK, QUARTERLY MEETING OF ORTHODOX FRIENDS, TO ITS MEMBERS, ON SLAVERY.

THERE are several important testimonies, to which the attention of our society has long been directed ; and which it has pressed upon the consideration of the community with an earnestness in some degree worthy of their importance. Among these testimonies, that against slavery holds a high rank. More than seventy years have elapsed since several Friends, who were ornaments to the Christian church, laboured, with great zeal and perseverance, to convince their fellow-members of the sin of slavery. Their labours were, in a peculiar manner, blessed, by bringing the society to the conviction, that for man to institute a claim to property in his fellow-man, was an offence in the Divine sight, an invasion of the prerogative of Jehovah ; and, consequently, disqualified him for membership in a Christian church. Thus, in a short time, the whole society was found on the side of justice and mercy. They made the morality of the gospel, which enjoins that, “ All things whatsoever ye would that men do to you, do ye even so to them,” their rule of action. They suffered no temporal considerations, no motives of expediency, to divert them from the path of duty.

It was very honorable to the character of our forefathers, that, in the conclusion of the society to rid itself of the abomination of slavery, few were the instances of those who preferred the gain of oppression to the calls of humanity ; few were the instances of those who suffered themselves to be separated from society, rather than relinquish their unrighteous claim on their fellow-man. Nor did the labours of our predecessors stop here. Both in this country and Great Britain, they were untiring

in their exertions on this important subject. They did not remit their efforts till the foreign slave-trade was abolished; and our brethren in Great Britain ceased not to make reiterated appeals to the public, and to the constituted authorities of their country, till slavery itself was abolished throughout the British empire. It was an event worthy of all their exertions, together with those of other Christian denominations, who were enlisted with them in the cause, when on the 1st of the 8th month, 1834, the shackles of slavery fell from nearly one million of human beings.

When we take into view the long continuance of slavery in the British dominions, and that their supposed interest was closely connected with it, and that at last it was abolished at an immense expense, it leads us to set a high estimate on those Christian efforts, that could, under so many disadvantageous circumstances, effect so great a change.

Christian efforts have also been highly blessed on this side of the Atlantic. Twelve states in this confederacy are now free; and the consequence of this freedom has been unparalleled prosperity. While several of the slave states are retreating in their march, the free states are rapidly advancing in almost every thing that constitutes a nation's wealth.

But, notwithstanding the foreign slave-trade has been abolished; notwithstanding half the states in this union are free, yet slavery has increased, and is increasing to an alarming degree in our country. The number of slaves has increased, within the last fifty years, from 600,000 to 2,500,000. Thus one sixth of our population are held as mere goods and chattels. They are denied the rights and privileges of men. In almost all the slave-states, they are forbidden, under the most severe penalties, to read even the inspired volume. The marriage contract is not recognized. At any and every moment, the husband is liable to be torn from the wife, or the wife from the husband, or the children from their parents. All the tenderest ties of nature and of kindred are daily sundered by the ruthless hand of slavery. Several of the Northern slave-states derive a principal part of their profit from the sale and transportation of slaves to more Southern regions. More than 100,000 are annually transported from Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, to the cotton, sugar, and rice plantations, of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, where the rigors of slavery are so cruel as greatly to abridge the period of human life.

Slavery is not only increasing in our country, but it is extending its baneful influence to every class in society. In years past, we were induced to hope that slaveholders were desirous to embrace a suitable juncture to abolish it; but we are brought to the conclusion, from the positive declarations of the leading slaveholders at the South, that the determination of many of them now is, to perpetuate the system. And on what grounds is it defended? On the grounds of policy, necessity,

expediency, and *Christianity* ! yes, even the sacred sanctions of our holy religion are summoned to the defence of a traffic in human flesh ! We have, in this Christian land, the shocking spectacle exhibited to us, of professed ministers of the Gospel selling the members of their own religious denomination into interminable bondage. And, notwithstanding these Northern states have declared their abhorrence of slavery, by abolishing it years since, yet its paralyzing influence has so insinuated itself among us, that many who assume a respectable stand in the community, come out openly in its defence.

In view of this alarming increase of slavery in our beloved country, have the exertions of our society for its abolition been as great and unremitted as the nature of the case demands ? Are we exerting that moral influence in the righteous cause of emancipation which was required by the faithfulness of our worthy predecessors ? Are we taking that high and decided stand on the "uncompromising righteousness of the law of Christ" which should characterize his followers ? Are we making those urgent and frequent appeals to the rulers of our country in the cause of suffering humanity which the exigency of the case requires ? Or, are we not rather manifesting a degree of apathy that could not be looked for from the successors of such men as John Woolman, and Anthony Benezet, and those worthy coadjutors of Thomas Clarkson and Wm. Wilberforce ? For twenty years did that eminent philanthropist, Thomas Clarkson, labor for the abolition of the slave-trade ; and the exertions of Friends in Great Britain at that period were such as to lead him to say, "that the whole society were with him in this great work." Are we bearing that faithful testimony against slavery which the discipline requires. If we are silent on this subject, while many pious people of other religious denominations are using indefatigable exertions to enlighten public opinion, and to terminate this great national evil ? And if by our indifference, we discourage those who are thus engaged, or decline to lend them a helping hand, shall we not put stumbling-blocks in their way ?

If we are freely partaking of the unrequited labor of slaves, are we actively complying with the following advice of our late yearly meeting ? "This meeting, while taking an enlarged view of this interesting subject, is sensible that many of its members feel religious scruples in relation to partaking of the produce of the unrequited labour of slaves, and desires that all may be faithful to the requirements of duty, in their varied allotments and means of usefulness."

Is it not to be apprehended, that many in our society at the present day are too much tinctured with the doctrine of *expediency* ? What is abstractedly wrong can never be made practically right. There are certain great fundamental principles which cannot, by any abstract reasoning, be violated with impunity. To plead the cause of the poor and needy, to deal our bread to the hungry, to visit the fatherless and widows in their afflictions, to undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go

free—are standing and imperative duties, which require no special revelation to render obligatory, and which no sophistry or supposed expediency can disannul.

It is not sufficient that the society of which we are members is clear of the sin of actual slave-holding. If there were moral worth, and Christian decision enough among our predecessors to bring about so great a reform as totally to expel the abomination from among us, that influence ought to be concentrated, and brought to bear upon this great and crying sin of our land. Our Saviour characterized his followers as the “salt of the earth, the light of the world, a city set on a hill.” If we neglect to plead for those who cannot plead for themselves; if we close our eyes to the miseries, and our ears to the lamentations, and wailings, and woes of millions of our fellow-men, shall we have a claim to this exalted character? If our candle be lit by the light of Christ, we are solemnly warned not to “put it under a bushel.”

The profession of Christianity lays us under many and important obligations. A mere theoretical belief in Christ is of no avail. Living faith calls for the exercise of active virtues. The practical Christian does not merely “look on his own things, but on the things of others;” and considers all mankind, in one sense, as his brethren, and himself under solemn obligations to use all the means in his power to ameliorate the condition of his fellow-men, of every color, and of every condition in life. It was not the high profession of the priest and the Levite, who could view suffering without compassion and without relief; but the kind and active offices of the good Samaritan, that gained the approbation of him to whom all the actions and all the motives of men are known.

We have the most solemn warnings laid down in Scripture to guard us against the sin of omission. When a plain and positive duty is enjoined, no excuses that we can frame can shield us from responsibility.

Although we are certain that good works of themselves will not commend us to God; yet it is assuredly a Scripture doctrine, that works of mercy flow from a living faith in Christ. To those who feed the hungry, clothe the naked, visit the sick, and show acts of hospitality to the stranger, the gracious invitation is given, “Come, ye blessed of my Father.” But to those who withhold these tokens of love to God, by a want of love to their fellow-men, the solemn warning is given, “Depart from me; for I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; naked, and ye clothed me not; sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not. Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, my brethren, ye did it not to me.”

Signed on behalf of Farmington Quarterly Meeting of Friends, held
11 mo. 9, 1836, by

LINDLEY M. MOORE, } Clerks.
ABIGAIL L. MOORE, }

FOREIGN SLAVE TRADE.

No. II.

PORTUGAL.

"In no one instance recorded in the page of history has England so tamely submitted to such repeated and infamous breaches of solemn treaties as those she has permitted Portugal to indulge in, in regard to the slave-trade. Indeed they have been so often repeated, so openly, so wholly without excuse or precedent, that posterity will almost be led to doubt, whether England herself was in earnest in her endeavours to obtain its total abolition. Had the position of the two countries been reversed—had Portugal been the most powerful nation in Europe—and had England been the weakest, the most distracted, and wholly dependent on Portugal for its very existence as a nation, the statement we have to make relative to our negotiations with her government for the abolition of the slave trade, might have been natural, and such as might have been expected. It has signified not, by whom the sceptre of that degraded and unhappy country has been wielded, whether by King, Regent, Council, or Queen; the result has ever been the same; of promises we have had abundance, of performance, none.

"After much anxious negociation, the first stipulations entered into with Portugal on this subject, are to be found in the treaty of alliance, concluded and ratified on the 19th February, 1810. In the 10th article of that treaty, the Prince Regent of Portugal solemnly promised to co-operate with the King of England, "by adopting the most efficacious means for bringing about a gradual abolition of the slave-trade, throughout the whole of his dominions," and engaged, that his subjects should not be permitted to carry it on, on any part of the coast of Africa, not actually belonging to Portugal.

"At the Congress of Vienna, the Portuguese government on the strong representations of the British, Austrian, Russian, and Prussian ambassadors, became a party to the denunciation of the slave-trade, contained in the Vienna declaration; and on the 21st of June, 1815, signed a Convention with this country, by which it was stipulated, that in consideration of regulations to be made by Portugal for avoiding certain doubts arising out of the treaty of 1810, England should pay the sum of £300,000 sterling; and subsequently a convention was agreed to that it should no longer be lawful for the subjects of the crown of Portugal to carry on the slave-trade on any part of the coast of Africa, to the northward of the equator, on any pretext whatsoever.

"By this treaty the Prince Regent of Portugal bound himself to adopt such measures as should best conduce to the effectual execution of its stipulations, reserving the question of the period of time at which the Portuguese slave-trade should universally cease, and be prohibited, to be fixed by a separate treaty; in the mean time, the right of slave-trading to the south of the line, was formally claimed and maintained. For these concessions, and for the hope held out, that at some future period, Portugal would enter into a treaty to name a period at which she would prohibit the trade to her subjects, his Britannic Majesty agreed to remit 'such further payments as might be due upon the loan of £600,000, made in London, for the service of Portugal, in the year 1809.' And as the whole of the payments were due and unpaid, the whole amount of the

debt was converted into a gift, in addition to the sum of £300,000 previously stipulated to be paid to Portugal on account of the slave-trade.

"Our treaties with Portugal remained in the same state till the 28th July, 1817, when an additional convention to the treaty of the 22nd January, 1805, was signed in London. This convention contained an agreement for the allowance of the mutual right of search, under certain limitations, for the establishment of Mixed Commission Courts, and also marked out the limits within which Portugal still claimed a legal right to carry on the slave-trade, and by a separate act dated the 11th September following, it was agreed, that, as soon as Portugal should totally have abolished the slave-trade, the existing conventions should be adapted to such new state of things, or in default thereof, the Convention of July, 1817, should remain in force until the expiration of fifteen years from the day on which the general abolition of the slave-trade should take place on the part of Portugal.

"At the Congress held at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1818, Portugal firmly withstood all the representations, remonstrances, and solicitations of the British ambassador, notwithstanding they were powerfully supported by all the monarchs there assembled, and refused either to adopt any further measure for the suppression of her enormous illicit slave-trade, or to name a period when she would finally abolish it.

"On the 15th March, 1823, after much tedious negotiation, an additional article to the convention of 1817 was signed at Lisbon, by which it was agreed, that a slave-vessel might be condemned on account of her having had slaves on board during the voyage in the course of which she was captured.

"The only pretence advanced by Portugal for refusing totally to abolish her slave-trade was, the necessities of her transatlantic possessions. After the declaration of the independence of Brazil, this pretence no longer existed. Portugal, nevertheless, clung to the trade, and even advanced a claim to carry it on without molestation, from the coast of Africa, for the supply of her African islands—the Cape de Verds, St. Thomas, and Princes—whence it would obviously be an easy matter afterwards to transport them to the Brazils or Cuba. A traffic of that description actually took place, of the occasional interruption of which, by British cruisers, the Portuguese ambassador ventured rather loudly to complain as a breach of treaty. These complaints, and the intention apparent on the part of Portugal, to cling to the slave-trade by means of her African islands, even after the separation of Brazil, led Mr. Canning, in 1826, to search more particularly into the existing compacts with this country. An able and luminous note was the consequence of this inquiry, in which, after specifying the various compacts and negotiations between the two States, from 1810, he showed it to be 'a distinct engagement,' entered into by 'the contracting parties,' that they 'shall not permit their flag to be used for the slave-trade, except for supplying the transatlantic possessions of Portugal.'*

"This remonstrance was answered by an acknowledgment, that 'the moment is come to put an end to the inhuman trade in slaves; and that consequently, the Portuguese government will have no hesitation to insert in the Treaty of Commerce, which the undersigned hopes will be shortly concluded between Portugal and Great Britain, an article by which his most faithful majesty binds himself, not only to the total abolition of the slave-trade in the dominions of

* See Parliamentary Papers, 1827, Class B. p. 24.

Portugal, but also to co-operate with his Britannic Majesty for the total extinction of so barbarous a traffic in the countries where it unfortunately still exists.* But still the Portuguese slave-trade was continued without interruption. Representations of the fact were consequently made to our government from all quarters; the foreign office was again roused, and a new remonstrance was made by Lord Palmerston, in a dispatch, addressed to our ambassador at Lisbon, dated 13th of February, 1832,† by whom it was communicated to the Portuguese minister who stated that he would submit it to his colleagues in council. As he still continued to evade giving any satisfactory answer, our ambassador again addressed him on the subject in a strong note, dated 5th June, 1832,‡ which had no effect, and during the succeeding years up to 1836, the same kind of negotiation continued, when, nothing having been done by the Portuguese government to put a stop to the trade, which was still carried on as vigorously as ever, Lord Palmerston, in a very able dispatch,|| in which he took a review, at great length, of the whole question as it regards Portugal, again loudly called upon the Portuguese government to perform the engagements it had entered into.

"The answer returned by the Portuguese minister to this able exposé, is as unsatisfactory as any of his preceding notes; however, on the 2nd of April last, Lord Howard de Walden, our ambassador, transmitted to the Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, the project of a law for the total abolition of the slave-trade throughout the Portuguese dominions, which had been presented to the Cortes by the minister of marine. This project, should it become the law of the land, is highly important, not only as it totally abolishes the slave-trade, but as it lays the foundation for the abolition of slavery itself. But we hear no more of it, and it is to be feared it will sink into oblivion.

"It is understood, too, that a new treaty is in progress between this country and Portugal for the final abolition of this infamous traffic—with its stipulations we are at present unacquainted;—but, unless Portugal is awakened to some sense of honour in regard to the duty of public faith, it is greatly to be feared, judging from past experience, that laws and treaties will be of little or no avail. This fear is increased by the tenor of most of the dispatches contained in the papers communicated to Parliament in the last session, by command of his majesty.

"Lord Howard de Walden, in a letter addressed to the Duke of Palmella on the 12th of September, says:—

"It is unnecessary for me to expatiate on the disgrace which is thus continually brought upon the nation at large, upon the government, and the queen's flag, by the conduct of the Portuguese authorities in the distant colonies of Portugal, and I have the distressing reflection now brought to mind, that, in no one single instance, out of the many representations which I have brought, by the King's command, under the notice of the government of Portugal, making known specific cases of encouragement of, or connivance at, this infamous traffic, has any one satisfactory answer been returned by the Portuguese government, nor, as far as I have been able to learn, has any one of the guilty, or suspected, or accused persons, been either proceeded against judicially, visited

* Parliamentary Papers, 1827; Class B, page 24.

† See Ditto, 1832, Class B, p. 10.

‡ See ditto, 1832, Class B, p. 13.

|| See ditto, 1835, Class B, p. 46.

by any declaration of her Majesty's displeasure, or removed from situations where there exists every reason to believe that this system of encouragement to the traffic in slaves is still carried on in the fullest activity, in direct infraction of treaties, to the disgrace of the national flag, at the expense of the reputation and good faith of the government, and the honour of the Queen of Portugal.*

"Mr. W. H. Read, the British consul at St. Michael's, in a letter to Lord Palmerston, dated 7th August, 1835, speaking of a case of illegal Spanish slave-trading, says:—

"In the verbal communications of the 6th and 11th inst. alluded to in my note, I thought that the Prefect showed a disposition to inquire into the matter; but the three members who are appointed his official counsellors in all matters relative to the Prefect's duty, were evidently averse to any interference with this vessel, alleging that they are without any instructions whatever, regarding the slave-trade, from the Portuguese government, which defect I however supplied, by producing the British acts of Parliament, and copies of the several treaties with Portugal, contained in Herslett's collection.

"I can, however, discern a decided apathy and indifference amongst the Portuguese in general, towards any active measures for the suppression of this inhuman traffic, which has so long engaged the attention of his Majesty's government; and nothing short of its being declared piracy by every government, will, in my humble opinion, effect the total abolition.†

"Is England ever to remain passive under the insulting indifference which the governments of Spain and Portugal have shown in regard to the performance of their engagements?—We have bought and paid for treaties by which they bound themselves to restrain their subjects from the performance of acts, which they acknowledge to be acts of inhumanity and robbery, of cruelty and piracy; but both governments have shamelessly broken every engagement they have entered into, and after having taken our money, both have turned a deaf ear to every remonstrance we have made. Can it then be a question, whether the time has not arrived for England to cease her forbearance, and to say to these governments, they shall no longer be allowed to protect the slave-trade? Justice, humanity, and power, are alike on our side, and if asserted, must be successful. If we refrain to use the means which Providence has put in our power in so holy a cause, does not England participate in their crimes? bearing this additional disgrace, that all she has gained by an expenditure of more than a million of money, is an enormous mass of treaties and official correspondence stored in the presses of the foreign office, the utmost value of which may be estimated at the price it would fetch if sold as waste paper."

* Parliamentary Papers, 1835, Class B, p. 37.

† See Ditto, 1835, Class B, p. 34.

SCENES IN THE SOUTH.

SOME years ago, a young man emigrated from New Hampshire to the state of Louisiana, where, after he became settled, he formed with a quarteroon slave of his own, one of those (contubernial) connexions, so common in the far South, as to carry with them but little disrepute. Two daughters were the fruit of their connexion. They were not grown up, when the mother died—a slave. The father was careful to bestow on them a good, if not an accomplished, education. Through mere neglect, as in the case of their mother, he did not emancipate them according to the forms required by law. The eldest had arrived at the age of sixteen, the other at fourteen. At this time the father died, leaving his two handsome, well-educated, and tenderly reared daughters, with a good estate, as it was supposed, for their comfortable support.

A brother residing in New Hampshire, on hearing of his death, went on to Louisiana, to attend to the adjustment of the estate, and to the interest of his nieces. He entered on the administration, and, to his great surprise, found, after he had made considerable progress in the payment of the claims, that the estate would, in all likelihood, prove insolvent. He continued, however, to discharge them as they were presented till all the resources of the estate were exhausted, except his two nieces, who, by the laws of Louisiana, were slaves and assets in his hands. So monstrous a thing as selling them had never once entered his mind. He was, however, reminded of this remaining resource by some of the creditors whose balances were undischarged. He replied in amazement, "They are my brother's children!" "That is nothing to us," they rejoined; "they are the property of the estate—liable for the payment of our claims—are likely—will sell well—and must be sold, unless from your private means you can advance the sums they would bring." This he was unable to do; Avarice called for the law. The girls were set up to the highest bidder; and, although wholly unused to work, they brought extravagant prices—one a thousand, the other fifteen hundred dollars. No one acquainted with the state of things at the South, will be at any loss to conjecture for what purpose such prices were given for them.

W—— Mc—— resided in Limestone county, Alabama. He was a careful, prudent man, and a successful planter, holding about ten or twelve slaves. He purchased a negro woman, who was indolent and indisposed to work. He whipped her, as usual in such cases, but without producing any material change for the better. He whipped her again, more severely, with no better result. He whipped her again and again, in all the most approved modes for subduing obstinacy; it was all unsuccessful. He at length resorted to the following expedient; he tied a cord

round one of her wrists, and by it suspended her from a joist of the house. He then placed immediately under her a wooden pin, or peg, fastened in the floor and somewhat sharpened. She was raised so high that she could not touch the floor, but could rest with one of her feet on the end of the peg. Thus she had the alternate relaxation of standing, with her whole weight, on only one foot on the peg, and of being suspended, with her whole weight, by the cord tied round her wrist.

The foregoing account was given to the narrator by the son of W—— Mc——, a steady, sober young man, who mentioned it as commendatory of his father's successful ingenuity, never once thinking it derogatory to his reputation. He concluded his account by saying, "This brought her to." The father lived, and, a few years after, died, a member of the church, with a standing that remained, we believe, unquestioned.

These are fruits of a system pronounced by southern divines to be in accordance with the will of God, and by southern politicians, "the greatest of all the great blessings which a kind Providence has bestowed on their glorious religion."—*Philanthropist*.

ABOLITIONISTS THE CONSERVATORS OF AMERICAN LIBERTY.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM DR. CHANNING TO JAMES G. BIRNEY, ESQ.

IN regard to the method adopted by the abolitionists of promoting emancipation, I might find much to censure; but when I regard their firm, fearless assertion of the rights of free discussion, of speech, and of the press, I look on them with unmixed respect. I see nothing to blame, and much to admire. To them has been committed the most important bulwark of liberty, and they have acquitted themselves of the trust like men and Christians. No violence has driven them from their post. Whilst in obedience to conscience, they have refrained from opposing force to force, they have still persevered amidst menace and insult, in bearing their testimony against wrong, in giving utterance to their deep convictions.—Of such men, I do not hesitate to say, that they have rendered to freedom a more essential service than any body of men among us. The defenders of freedom are not those who claim and exercise rights which no one assails, or win shouts of applause by well-turned compliments to liberty in the days of her triumph.—They are those who stand up for rights which mobs, conspiracies, or single tyrants put in jeopardy; who contend for liberty in that particular form, which is threatened at the moment by the many or the few. To the abolitionists

this honor belongs. The first systematic effort to strip the citizens of freedom of speech they have met with invincible resolution. From my heart I thank them. I am myself their debtor. I know not that I should this moment write in safety, had they shrunk from the conflict, had they shut their lips, imposed silence on their presses, and hid themselves before their ferocious assailants. I know not where these outrages would have stopped, had they not met resistance from their first destined victims. The newspaper press, with few exceptions, uttered no genuine indignant rebuke of the wrong doers, but rather countenanced by its gentle censures the reign of force. The mass of the people looked supinely on this new tyranny under which a portion of their fellow-citizens seemed to be sinking. A tone of denunciation was beginning to proscribe all discussion of slavery. And had the spirit of violence, which selected associations as its first objects, succeeded in this preparatory enterprise, it might have been easily turned against any and every individual, who might presume to agitate the unwelcome subject. It is hard to say, to what outrage the fettered press of the country might have been reconciled. I thank the abolitionists, that in this evil day, they were true to the rights which the multitude were ready to betray.—Their purpose to suffer, to die, rather than surrender their dearest liberties, taught the lawless, that they had a foe to contend with, whom it was not safe to press, whilst, like all manly appeals, it called forth reflection and sympathy in the better portion of the community. In the name of freedom and humanity, I thank them. Through their courage, the violence, which might have furnished a precedent fatal to freedom, is to become, I trust, a warning to the lawless, of the folly as well as crime of attempting to crush opinion by force.

A SCENE IN VIRGINIA.

THE following letter is from a young Methodist preacher now in the state of Virginia, but who used to live within the bounds of the Providence district, N. E. Conference. He is a young man of great promise ; and all he states may be depended on as strictly true. What horrible scenes does he decribe !—scenes which he has witnessed with his own eyes ; and that, too, during the last year ! And to defend this system, doctors of divinity, and presidents of Colleges in America, have written laboured Scripture arguments !

Innocent human beings—made in the image of God, and bought with the blood of Christ—separated from their companions and children, chained together, and driven as felons through the country, to be sold in foreign markets, and find premature graves ! One man buying an old grey-headed negro, with the avowed intention of swapping him off with

a trader for a young one, just as men swap horses! And this system of soul murdering finds apologists in the north! Christian ministers, and Methodist ministers too, apologize for it!

TO THE REV. O. SCOTT.

Virginia, Dec. 8, 1836.

SINCE I have come into Virginia, I have encountered four or five droves of human beings on their way to a market in Mississippi, comprising about as many hundreds. They were bought up by traders in Maryland, and the northern part of Virginia, and were driven on foot, and in chains, to linger out a miserable existence, and find a premature grave among strangers. Many of them were torn away from their wives and children, and all were separated, no doubt, from friends more or less immediately related and endeared.

While passing through Fauquier county, a drove of about thirty came along, every one chained. When they first came in sight, they presented so striking a resemblance to a picture I used to see on one of the anti-slavery works among you, that I was immediately reminded of it—the tallest going before, and the shorter going in regular succession. By the request of a sick gentleman with whom I was in company, I went to the place where they stopped for the purpose of buying one for him for a body servant. You may start at this, but I presume you will justify me, when you are made acquainted with the motive from which I acted. I knew the man above named would treat a slave well; and as he was on his way to Tennessee, he would provide him a fine horse to ride, which would be better than going on foot, and in chains; and he would thus be rescued from the miserable fate of going to Mississippi, a fate which all slaves revolt at. As I went in among them to inspect them, they all began to adjust their tattered clothes and comb their heads, &c., to attract my notice. Can you conceive my feelings, in the company of thirty poor miserable captives, all fastening their eyes upon me, with the hope that I was about to release some one of them from their miserable condition. I selected one from the rest, who was a tall, well formed man, about twenty-five years old, and possessing a remarkably intelligent countenance.—The key was brought, and he was *unlocked* from the chain, that I might view him. They had travelled all day in a hot sun, and as the lock was taken from the hand, it was swollen as large as *two common hands*. He was now given into my charge; and as we walked to the hotel together, to see the gentleman who wished to purchase him, I drew from him the following statement.

He had belonged to a man in Frederick county, Md., who had all along been promising to give him his liberty at his death; but, alas! he had recently died in a fit of insanity, and had left no will, and as a consequence, he, with his wife and two children, had fallen into the hands of the administrator of the estate, and he was sold at auction to the trader with whom he was now on his way to the Mississippi in chains.

I confess, that such was the effect upon my feelings on hearing this story, that had he attempted an escape while in my charge, I would not have made an effort to prevent him, though the event might have cost me the severest penalties of lynch law. The gentleman saw him—liked him very well, but the price was too much (1,200), and I went back again with him to his chains. I tried to comfort him with the reflection, that he would soon be delivered from

his chains, and brought where "the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest." He professed to me, while his eyes were suffused with tears, that he wished he was there; choosing *death* to the bondage he was suffering. The gentleman bought a *grey-headed old man* in Staunton, for 250 dollars, and professed his purpose to trade him off to a slave-dealer for a younger man.

I could relate many such tales as the above, but I forbear. The simple design of this is to obtain a word from you, which I hope you will favor me with soon. I rejoice at your prosperity in Lowell. It is a matter of surprise here that an *abolitionist* can be instrumental of so much good.

(To the Editor of "*Slavery in America.*")

New York, Dec. 16, 1836.

DEAR SIR:

Our cause is going forward gloriously in this country. We have now about seventy lecturers in the field, from whom we expect great things. The warm contested presidential election has passed, and we expect little or no opposition from party politicians. The number of Anti-Slavery Societies are rapidly increasing. There are now over six hundred auxiliary societies. There are, probably, not less than fifteen hundred ministers in this country who are thoroughly with us.

The tone of the press here is greatly modified. There are about one hundred papers in the United States favourable to our cause; and many of them have taken a bold and fearless stand in defence of the principles laid down in our declaration of independence—"that ALL MEN are born free and equal," &c. A large and very respectable portion of the freemen of this country, begin to *see* and *feel* that the Anti-Slavery cause is identified with their own liberties—freedom of speech and of the press: and that the same feeling and spirit which keeps the labouring people of the South in slavery, would, if it could, reduce the labouring people of the North to the same condition. The yeomanry of this nation will not sit quiet, or remain silent, when they see the chains forging for their own necks and those of their children.

The influence of British Christians and Abolitionists is beginning to operate most powerfully upon this country.

I should be pleased to say more, but time will not permit.

We shall be pleased to hear from you often.

With great respect, I am,

Yours truly, in abolition bonds,

R. G. WILLIAMS,

Publishing Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

SOUTHERN VIGILANCE.

THE following story is related by AMOS DRESSER, who was himself honoured with persecution in Nashville, and may be found, with other interesting facts, in "The Friend of Man," for Nov. 17, 1836.

STORY OF ALPHONZO.

One of the slaves in the Tennessee Hotel accidentally heard of a plot laid by some of the Southern gentlemen to decoy back to slavery those who had escaped to Canada. Having a brother there, and not being able to write, he employed Alphonzo Sumner, a free coloured man, as his amanuensis; thus acquainting his brother of the facts, and advising him to be on his guard.

Alphonzo was the most respectable barber in the place. His education was good for the Southern states. He was a member of the Baptist church, and beloved and respected by the citizens generally.

The letter was intercepted, and handed to Mr. Erwin, Mayor of the city. The handwriting being suspected, Alphonzo was sent for, and acknowledged he was the author of the letter; to which the Mayor jestingly replied—"I think you had better take a trip to the country for your health." Then remarked more seriously, that if it should become generally known that he had written such a letter, it would not, probably, be safe for him to remain in the city; at the same time assuring him, that it was then known only to one or two besides himself, and promising to let no one see it. Alphonzo, knowing that Mr. E. was a member of the Methodist Episcopal church, supposed he could place implicit confidence in his word, and gave himself no uneasiness, though he made some preparations for leaving the city. The same afternoon or the next day, Mr. E. publicly read the letter to the Vigilance Committee, a large crowd being in attendance. After the reading of the letter, one of the crowd asked if the author of that letter could be brought to "justice by law." It was replied that he could not. That same evening, as Alphonzo was about to retire, he heard some noise and disturbance in the street below his window, and stepped to the window to learn the cause. At the same moment his door was opened, and two individuals rushing in, presented pistols to his breast, saying, "You are a dead man, if you open your head." They then blindfolded him, and dragged him down stairs into the street, and after taking him to a bye place out of the city, asked if he knew why they had brought him there. Upon his replying that he did not, some one cried, "Give him a cut or two, and perhaps he will find out." They then began to interrogate him in reference to abolition, asking many questions of which he was entirely ignorant; and, if he did not answer to suit them, they would apply the scourge, then ask again; thus alternately beating and asking him questions, till the skin was beaten off, and the raw flesh laid bare to the size of a man's hand, and forty stripes were counted upon other parts of his body the next morning.

After beating him till his strength was nearly gone, they told him it would not be safe for him to go home alone, because another party were in pursuit of him, and if he should fall into their hands, they would take his life. Accordingly, two constables were appointed to guard him home; and, on arriving at his room, they demanded all his private papers! and, seizing the trunk which contained them, carried them away. Being blindfolded, he could not see any of his persecutors; but, by their voices, distinguished one or two of the members of the same church with which he was connected, and also one or two of the Nashville Committee of Vigilance.

This outrage immediately became the topic of conversation all over the town, and most of the citizens supposed him to be dead. The fact was also related in the stage, on my return from the South, by a Mr. Loring, of Nashville, who also supposed him to be dead.

Mr. L. gave nearly a correct account of the outrages committed upon myself (not mistrusting that he was speaking of one of the company, and not knowing the name of the individual whipped), and closed by saying, "There has scarcely been a night this three weeks in which there has not been some one whipped." The particulars of this case I learned from Alphonzo himself, finding him at Cincinnati on my return.

One individual thus outraged prosecuted two or three of the leaders of the mob. They were found guilty by the jury, and fined six and a quarter cents each.

UPPER CANADA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

OUR readers will rejoice to hear that the Anti-Slavery spirit is spreading throughout the dependencies of our empire. This is a good sign, and augurs well for our final triumph. A society has recently been formed in Upper Canada, when the following resolutions were adopted. We hope the members of this new auxiliary to the great cause of human freedom and happiness will proceed with energy and diligence.

Moved by the Rev. J. Ryerson, and seconded by Mr. B. R. Snow,—

1. That slavery, wherever it exists, being sinful in its nature and tendencies, equally opposed to the honour of Almighty God, the great and glorious principles of the Divine government, and the highest happiness of man,—its immediate and universal abandonment is imperatively demanded by the law of God, and by the best feelings of our nature; and to that end the efforts of Christians and philanthropists in all countries ought to be vigorously directed.

Moved by the Rev. M. Lang, and seconded by Mr. W. Augustus.

2. That the Act of Emancipation passed by the British Parliament, which conferred the blessings of freedom upon 800,000 of our formerly enslaved fellow men, exhibits the lofty sense of justice entertained by the British nation, and furnishes a theme for grateful acknowledgment of the interposition of Divine Providence, in answer to the prayers of Christians.

Moved by Mr. James Lesslie, and seconded by Mr. James Johnson.

3. That we hail with unfeigned satisfaction the progress of correct views in the United States of America on the moral evil of slavery, and the active and rapidly increasing efforts which are being made there for its immediate extinction.

Moved by the Rev. W. Christian, and seconded by Mr. M. B. Truss,—

4. That as British subjects we ought to feel it alike a duty and an honor to imitate the example of the venerable and philanthropic WILBERFORCE; whose memory, as the unflinching advocate of the suffering slave, will be cherished to the latest posterity; and, as in humble reliance upon the Divine blessing, he persevered amidst much opposition and reproach in urging his efforts for the suppression of the slave-trade, until that laudable object was accomplished, so we may be encouraged to prosecute unceasing efforts, united with fervent prayer, for the universal abolition of slavery, with the confident hope that to the next generation the detestable and iniquitous system will be known only as matter of history.

Moved by the Rev. E. Evans, and seconded by the Rev. M. Lang,—

5. Whereas we are taught in the Holy Scriptures to believe in the existence of one God, “who hath made of one blood all nations of men,” and with whom “there is no respect of persons,”—and whereas it is the imperative duty of all men to practically recognize the obligations growing out of this fraternal relation of the human family, and to cultivate those feelings of universal justice and benevolence which are inculcated by that precept of our adorable Saviour, “thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,”—and whereas the system of slavery, under which one class of our fellow men are held in abject subjection to another class, and are considered in the light of mere goods and chattels, and articles of ordinary traffic, is a direct violation of the divine law,—an infraction of the dearest rights of the enslaved,—at variance with every feeling of humanity, and every correct principle by which men, deriving their being from one common Creator, ought to be governed in their intercourse with each other,—is, and ever has been, demoralizing in its tendency, and dangerous to the social interests and safety of community, in every country where it has been recognized by law,—presents insuperable barriers to the mental improvement and moral elevation of the oppressed, and serious obstructions to the dissemination of that religious knowledge which is intimately connected with their eternal interests,—and retards the arrival of that desirable period when “the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea,” and “when violence shall no more be heard in the land,”—it is, therefore, the duty of all Christians and philanthropists, in every country, to unite their efforts to bring about, in a peaceful manner, the immediate abolition of slavery throughout the whole world;—and in view of the great and beneficial results of Christian effort, manifested in the suppression of the slave-trade, and in the emancipation of the slaves in the British West Indian possessions, and in humble dependance upon the blessing of Almighty God, it is expedient that we should, and we hereby do, form ourselves into a society, to be governed by the following

CONSTITUTION.

Article 1. This society shall be called “The Upper Canada Anti-Slavery Society.”

Art. 2. The objects of this Society are, the entire abolition of slavery throughout the world; the removal of existing prejudice against the people of color; and the elevation of their character and condition, by promoting their mental and religious improvement.

Art. 3. Any person, who consents to the principles of this Constitution, and contributes to the funds of this society, shall be entitled to vote at its meetings.

The other articles relate to officers, meetings, &c.

Art. 8. Any anti-slavery society, or association, formed on the same principles, in this Province, may become auxiliary to this Society. The officers of each auxiliary society shall be ex-officio members of the parent institution, and shall be entitled to deliberate and vote at all its meetings.

THE FOREIGN SLAVE TRADE REVIVED, AND NEW YORK A SLAVE PORT.

From the Emancipator, Jan. 19.

WE have now to call the attention of our readers to one of the most atrocious perversions of justice and law, we have ever known. Corrupt as we know our courts to be, especially where the rights and interests of colored men were at issue, we had not supposed them so utterly regardless of law and of right, as they have now proved themselves to be, in the case we are about to detail. Before entering on this case, however, we deem it important to state the following facts.

1. Within a few months, the St. Nicholas, a suspicious looking vessel came into this port. One circumstance after another soon made it manifest that she was a slaver. Complaint was lodged, in due form, with Mr. Price, the District Attorney. Process was issued. The evidence was deemed insufficient, and the Captain and vessel were discharged. The vessel obtained her outfit, left the port, colors flying, and in a few weeks was captured, on her return voyage from Africa, *with slaves on board!*

2. Still more recently, the "Brig Governor Temple," came into this port, from the coast of Gambia, with *thirteen* native Africans on board. Again complaint was made to the District Attorney. He was informed that there was reason to fear they would be smuggled away to the South as slaves—that three of them, on some pretence, had already been sent there, and some action was sought to secure the liberty of the others. The heartless reply was, "Well, if they have gone to the South, that's their misfortune," *and no action was taken!*

3. A gentleman in this city, whose name we are not at liberty to mention, an owner of the Texan lands, informed a member of our Executive Committee, a few months since, that another gentleman in this city, also an owner of Texan lands, had, a short time previous, formerly proposed to him to invest funds in a ship to go into the slave trade from Africa to Texas, assuring him that an *immense profit would be realized on the investment!*

4. The New Orleans Bulletin of Dec. 10th, declares "on high authority, that the Texan government intends entering a formal complaint to the Cabinet at Washington, against the practice, pursued by *American citizens*, of introducing into their territory, *in vessels belonging to the United States*, negroes, coming from other quarters than this Union, and further, that their minister at Washington, will be instructed to ask of our government, that a vessel be ordered to cruise along their coast, to prevent such introduction, and also, that a small force be stationed at the mouth of the Sabine, to guard against their being *landed on the coast of the United States, and immediately transferred to the Texan territory*"—thus publishing to the world, that the Foreign slave trade is extensively carried on from Africa to Texas, "by *AMERICAN CITIZENS*," and "*IN VESSELS BELONGING TO THE UNITED STATES!*"

With those facts before them, our readers will not deem it incredible or strange, if some "American citizens" should be found in *this city*, who, as owners or otherwise, are directly concerned and deeply interested in the prosecution of this abominable traffic. Nor will they think it strange or unnatural that such citizens should attempt the outfit of such vessels from this port, and take every possible method, on account of the severe penalties of the law, to

conceal their object, and in case of detection, to render the law, by the evasion and in other ways, a practical nullity on the contrary, it would be strange and unnatural if they did not do so; and, in case of necessity, go so far even as to attempt to put out the eye, and sear the conscience, and pervert the judgment, and palsy the arm of judicial and executive power, by some influence behind the throne. Whether it has been so in the case to which we now invite attention, we shall leave our readers, in view of the facts, to decide.

CASE OF THE BRIG BRILLIANTE.

This brig arrived in this port Dec. 3rd. It was soon ascertained that she had five colored men on board, who were slaves. One of the white seamen also, without knowing the object of the inquiry, stated expressly to Mr. Ruggles, that the brig was a regular slaver, and had come here for an outfit. Accordingly, on the morning of the 10th, information was lodged by Mr. Ruggles, with the District Attorney, Mr. Price, that a brig of the above name was lying at the foot of Market Street, that there was every reason to believe her a regular slaver, that one of the hands had so stated; and that there were five colored men on board, who said they were slaves and belonged to the Mayor of Rio Janeiro.* This, be it remembered, was on the morning of Saturday the 10th. Nothing was done on that day by the District Attorney. The next day was Sabbath. On Monday morning, Mr. Ruggles called again on Mr. Price. Mr. P. said he would attend to it. An assistant in the office directed Mr. Ruggles to get the Captain's name if he could; and added, that he was going to the custom house, and would see if he could get it there. Mr. R. called again. The Assistant Attorney took him to the Marshall's office, and requested Mr. Rapelje, the Deputy Marshall, to attend to the case. The reply was, "I have not time to attend to it now—You have not got the Captain's name—I'll see about it—You had better call to-morrow." Mr. Ruggles said, "But she may be gone." "Well, get all the facts you can, and call at my house this afternoon." This was done, and the Deputy Marshall was "not at home."

Tuesday morning, the 13th, the following notice appeared in the New-York Sun.

A SLAVER IN OUR PORT.—We yesterday received a communication from a source which warrants us in at least making public its purport, in which our attention is directed to a vessel now lying at the foot of the Market street, the name of which—though she displays none—is the *Brillante*. Our correspondent states that she is from Rio Janeiro, bound to Africa, on a slaving expedition, and has put in here for stores. Her captain, mate, and five white seamen, are Portuguese; and she has also on board five slaves. He also states that his knowledge of the character of this vessel, and her present expedition, was derived from information communicated to him by *one of the hands*, and which is confirmed in his mind by a personal visit to the vessel, made yesterday. We do not, of course, presume to vouch unqualifiedly for the correctness of our correspondent's assertions, nor that he may not be mistaken—but we do say that we have sufficient confidence in them, to warrant us in calling the attention of the proper authorities to the matter.

At length, in the course of Tuesday, process was issued, the Captain, Joao Evangeliste de Souza, was arrested, and for want of bail, was lodged in prison.

* The slaves insisted to the last, that they belonged to the Mayor and not to the Captain.

The bail demanded was 5000 dollars. The slaves also, but none of the hands, were taken into custody to be used as witnesses.

On Friday, the 16th, the case came before the U. S. District Court, Judges Thompson and Betts, for decision. The counsel of the U. States were the District Attorney and Mr. Jay; for the defendant Messrs. Morrill and Staples. The report of the case in the Journal of Commerce is as follows.

The case was now brought before the court on a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and an affidavit of the defendant read, which stated that he was a subject of the Brazilian government, from whom the vessel and five slaves which he brought here had been purchased; that he came here with a cargo of coffee, wine, and sugar, consigned to the house of Souza, in this city, that he arrived here on the 3rd of December; that after discharging the vessel's cargo, she was taken to the Dry Dock to be repaired, and whilst there the greater part of a cargo was engaged for her, to carry to Rio Janeiro; that since her arrival here, the slaves had not been employed in any work, except what their duties as seamen required; that on the 13th inst. the defendant had been arrested on the affidavit of a man named Martin, who deposed that the defendant had brought slaves into this State to hold them to labor, which defendant totally denied, and maintained that they had been brought as *bona fide* seamen, to load and unload the vessel and to work her at sea.

The defendant protested against his arrest as illegal, and contrary to the treaty made between the government of the United States, and the government of the Brazils, dated 12th of December, 1828, which provides that the subjects of that government shall be treated on the footing of the most favored nations. The case was ably argued by counsel on both sides, after which Judge Thompson referred to the different statutes having reference to the subject, and said that the case shown by the defendant, *admitting it to be true*, did not come within the meaning of the laws of the United States, which prohibited the importation of slaves, &c.

The report in the Sun states, that the Captain deposed,

That he had no purpose either of *disposing of them* [the slaves,] or putting them to labour here; and that he was here on a legal mercantile voyage, had taken in his cargo, and was prepared to return to Rio Janeiro. Mr. Price, the District Attorney, *did not attempt to introduce any testimony in contradiction of de Souza's deposition, nor oppose the motion of his counsel*; and their Honors deciding that there was no ground for his further detention, ordered him to be discharged.

We have taken pains to examine the Captain's deposition, which is on file in the Clerk's office, that we might assure ourselves of the correctness of the reporters, and we find that he deposes that his vessel was consigned to the house of "L. C. A. De Souza" of this city, that the slaves, whose names are Antonio, Domingo, Jose, Joao, and Predo, "form a part of the crew of said vessel, and are continued on board for no other purpose than performing the duties obligatory upon them as the property of deponent, and further, that said slaves were not brought into the United States in this state, from any foreign kingdom, place or country, or from sea *with any intent to hold the same to service* within the United States or in this state, or to sell or otherwise dispose of, but only as *bona fide* seamen, and as the property of deponent."

Our readers will see that the specific charge, on which the Captain was arrested, was, not that, in the language of the law, he had brought these men here "with intent to hold, sell them," &c. himself "as slaves" &c., but that he had done it "with intent to hold them to service" simply, "or to sell" &c.

Judge Thompson decided in favour of the Captain, who was accordingly discharged.

This was on the 16th. The same day Mr. Rapalje, the Deputy Marshall went to the Debtor's prison and informed the keeper, Mr. A. B. Fountain, that the five colored men, were discharged and were to be no longer detained in custody, on the authority of the United States. But the keeper kept them in prison *through that and the four succeeding days!* At length, late on Tuesday afternoon, Dec. 20th, four individuals, of whom the writer was one, went to the keeper to inquire into the cause of their detention, when the following conversation, in substance, ensued.

Inquirers. Are the five colored men, brought up as witnesses in the case of De Souza, still in prison?

Keeper. They are.

I. By what authority do you detain them?

K. The authority of the sheriff and the marshall.

I. But how can that be, the case has been decided and they, as witnesses, must be of course discharged?

K. I know that, but I have received no notice of their discharge, and I cannot let them go until I do.

I. You hold them by virtue of the original commitment, as witnesses in the case of De Souza?

K. I do; and I cannot let them go without some authority.

I. What authority is necessary?

K. Oh, a note from the sheriff or the marshall, or the District Attorney, saying that they are discharged will be enough.

I. And if we get you such a note, will you let them go?

K. I will.

No sooner said, than away we hastened to the office of the sheriff. He said they were not there by his authority—he had nothing to do with them—the marshall or the District Attorney were the persons to apply to. Away we went to the office of the District Attorney—not in. A young man in the office said they were discharged on the original commitment, but he believed they were now detained by request of the Captain as his property, and on authority of Mr. Rapalje. Up we went to Mr. Rapalje's office—not in—and as it was now evening, it was agreed to let the matter rest until morning. On Wednesday morning, two individuals called on Mr. Rapalje, and the following dialogue for substance, ensued.

Inquirers. Sir, feeling somewhat interested in the case of the slaves, arrested as witnesses in the case of De Souza, and finding that they are still in prison, we have come to inquire by virtue of what process they are detained?

Mr. Rapalje. I cannot tell you. They are discharged on the commitment in that case.

I. The keeper of the prison says they are not.

Mr. R. They certainly are, for I went to the prison and told him so myself, last week.

I. He told us himself, yesterday afternoon, that he had received no such notice, and that he still detained them on the original commitment.

Mr. R. I do not see how that can be. Did't you see the turnkey?

I. No, sir. We are sure it was the keeper, and he told us if we would get a note from you, saying that they were discharged, he would release them.

Mr. R. I will give such a note if you wish.

I. It will oblige us if you will.

Mr. R. Sit down, gentlemen.

The note was written, and was as follows :

U. S. MARSHALL'S OFFICE, Dec. 21st, 1836.

To the keeper of the Debtor's Jail in New York :

Sir,—The five witnesses confined in the Debtor's jail, on account of the suit of the United States against J. E. De Souza, were discharged by me from custody on the 16th inst, verbally in your office. You are not to consider the United States bound for their maintenance since that time.

S. RAPALJE, Dep. U. S. Marshall.

(Superscribed) A. B. FOINTAIN, Esq., Keeper of the Debtor's Jail in New York.

With this we hastened to the prison, found the keeper, presented the note, and asked for their release.

Keeper.—I cannot release them.

Inquirers.—But why not? You said yesterday you would, if we would get you such a note from the marshall.

K.—I know (with a blush, and some embarrassment); but since you were here, the captain and the consul have been here, and I am keeping them now for them.

I.—Ah, but have you any authority for doing so?

K.—Yes; the authority of the captain and the consul.

I.—(After some effort to get a definite answer). You hold them, then, simply on the request of the captain and consul, and not by virtue of any legal process or authority?

K.—Yes.

I.—And you will not let them go, will you?

K.—No.

I.—But have you a right to appropriate the prison to such uses without authority?

K.—I shall risk it (with considerable feeling). They said they would make me good.

We of course left the premises. In the course of the day a habeas corpus was issued to the keeper to show cause for their detention; but, when about to be served the next morning, it was found that he had resigned his charge, and that they were then on board the vessel.

Subsequently, another habeas corpus was issued to the captain, to show cause for their detention on board the vessel; the object of which was, not to convict the captain, but to secure the liberty of the slaves. The case was brought before Judge Ulshoeffer, who decided that under the state law, slaves might be brought into the state, not only from the southern states, but from foreign countries, and kept here nine months, and then taken away. He said, that the act of Congress, of 1818, prohibited only the bringing of slaves in to sell them, or to hold them as residents; that this country was not like England; that we did not interfere with the laws of other countries; that a master of a vessel might go to a foreign country where slavery was lawful, and "man his ship with slaves, and bring them here, and keep them eight months and twenty-nine days, and then take them away." Of course, the captain was discharged, and the slaves were left in his possession. The decision was not committed to paper, but these remarks were taken down with a pencil, by the writer, at the time.

Such are the leading facts in this important case. We come now to the work of comment. In doing so, we are aware that we shall be regarded by many as very presumptuous, and disrespectful withal to the constituted authorities. Some even may charge us with "speaking evil of dignities." To be sure, on other subjects, and in other cases, nothing is more common, and nothing considered more proper, than to question, expose, and censure, the doings and decisions of public functionaries. This is done, at all times, by any body and every body, and with the utmost freedom of remark, however trifling or unimportant the interests at stake. And that public functionary who should complain of this as abusive and disrespectful, would be the scorn and contempt of the entire community. But when the rights and interests of the colored man are concerned; ah! now the public functionary is clothed with infallibility: to question or censure his doings and decisions is little short of blasphemy; the community are well-nigh horror-struck at such astonishing rudeness; and it becomes you, most reverently, to lay your hand upon your mouth, and be still! Such, at least is the fact with multitudes. We shall not, however, be kept back, by any such feeling, from the discharge of our duty. We mean to know the colored man, not as colored, but only as a man; and therefore, in the present, and every similar case, we shall vindicate his cause, and expose and condemn the doings and decisions of public functionaries with the same unsparring freedom that we would if the party aggrieved were white: and if, in so doing, we at any time do injustice to any person concerned, we shall ever be ready, on due information, to make the proper corrections.

TESTIMONY OF AN EYE-WITNESS.

From the Herald of Freedom.

IN a recent journey through some of the slaveholding states, I availed myself of many opportunities of acquainting myself with the condition and general disposition of that portion of the community in which you are especially interested.

Though the laws relating to the instruction of slaves are in Maryland far less severe than they are in Virginia, yet their condition in that state is degraded and miserable in the extreme. Desertions are becoming alarmingly frequent, and the recovery of the fugitives is so hopeless when they have the good fortune to get within the limits of Pennsylvania, that the slaveholders are induced, by these circumstances, and an increasing inability to render their labour profitable, especially on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake, to dispose of them in great numbers for the southern market. A gentleman, whose profession as civil engineer had led him to explore very thoroughly that section of the state, assured me that the wretchedness of their condition was inexpressible, and that little creatures, whose lives must be the cost, of eight and ten years of age, were daily disposed of for the south and west.

A lady of Hagerstown, a slaveowner and accustomed to them from her birth, in answer to my inquiry whether those who are well used, were tolerably contented in their servitude, assured me they were not, that the most fervent, unwavering, undying wish of their hearts, was to be free. In relation to the punishments to which they were subjected, she informed me with a smile, indicative of a doubt how the information might sound in the ears of a female from the

north, "for a trifling offence we send them to the whipping-post, and for anything which is very bad we sell them for the south, which is as dreadful to them as death." The same lady related a fact which occurred in her own family, and which gave me an idea of the nature of the crimes which doom the poor slaves to an early grave on the banks of the Mississippi or the Chattahonechee.

She was owner of a female slave, whose husband belonged to a gentleman residing about twenty miles from Hagerstown. Perri was exceedingly attached to his wife, and by walking Saturday night after the close of his labour, and returning on Sunday night, he frequently procured for himself the enjoyment of the Sabbath in her society. But these visits of the slave were not agreeable to his master and he remonstrated, and finally asked Perri whether he would choose to relinquish his visits to Mary or receive a certain number of stripes the morning after his return. "I will choose to take the stripes, Massa," said Perri. He accordingly continued his visits, at no time encroaching on the hours of labour, and as regularly received the threatened punishment for his delinquency. "Oh, Mary," said he, "my poor shoulders suffer for these happy visits to you." On one occasion he became sick at Hagerstown, and was unable to return. At the end of three weeks his master came to him, much exasperated, threw him into jail, and after long confinement had him conducted, chained and handcuffed, by the place of Mary's residence, and sold him to a slave-dealer for Georgia. "Oh," said the lady, as she finished her story, "you have no idea how much trouble we have with them!" With ill-suppressed indignation I referred to the misery of the injured slaves, and she added, "Well, 'tis said they have no more feeling than brutes, but I think they have, for I thought my Mary would have gone distracted!"

It is but justice to the master to add, that he offered to purchase Mary, and her mistress left it with her to decide whether she would leave her or not. But she knew his cruelty too well, and the probability that in a fit of passion they should soon be separated, and she refused to be sold.

THE "BLACK ACT" OF CONNECTICUT.

THE Statute Book of Connecticut is even yet defiled with an act which has been appropriately styled the "BLACK ACT;" and black enough it is to disgrace the midnight of the dark ages. Our readers will be surprised at some of the provisions of this law, which received the approval of the Governor on the 24th of May, 1833.

Its preamble sets forth, that, "attempts have been made to establish literary institutions in this state for the instruction of *colored* persons belonging to other states and countries, which would tend to the great increase of the colored population of the state, and thereby to the injury of the people." And for this weighty reason it enacts—"that no person shall establish in this state any school, or literary institution, for the instruction or education of colored persons, who are not inhabitants of this state, nor instruct in any school, or other literary institution whatsoever in this state, or harbor or board for the purpose of attending or being instructed in any such school or literary institution any colored person who is not an inhabitant of any town in this state, *without the consent in writing first obtained of a majority of the civil authority, and also of the select men of the town in which such school or literary institution is situated*; and every person who shall knowingly do any act forbidden as aforesaid, or shall be aiding therein, shall, for the first offence, forfeit and pay to the Treasurer of this state a fine of one hundred dollars, and for the second offence a fine of two hundred dollars, and so double for every offence of which he or she shall be convicted."

TESTIMONY OF THE CHURCH IN AMERICA.

The General Conference (Congregational) of Maine, at its recent meeting, on motion of Mr. Tappan,

Resolved, That slave-holding, as it exists in a portion of these United States, is a great sin against God and man, for which the nation ought to humble itself, and for the speedy and entire removal of which, every Christian ought to pray, and use all suitable means within his reach.

The Presbytery of Indianapolis, at their semi-annual meeting, at Sugar Creek Church, April 5,

Resolved, 1. That all men have a natural and unalienable right to liberty, unless the right has been forfeited by crime.

2. That slavery, as it exists in the United States, is a great natural, political, and moral evil.

3. That there is good reason to believe, that the present difficulties in the Presbyterian church, are in part on account of the large measure in which she has participated in the sin of slavery.

4. That this Presbytery will receive no minister as a member who is a slave-holder, or who has sold a slave or slaves into unconditional bondage, unless he will first make all the reparation that may still be in his power.

5. That it be recommended to the church sessions under our care, not to receive any person into the communion of the church who is a slave-holder, or who has sold a slave or slaves into unconditional slavery, unless they will first make all the reparation that may still be in their power.

Presbyterian Church.

The General Assembly, it is true, put the slavery question under the table for the present; but we trust it will not be so disposed of by the individual churches. We are glad to see from the last Philanthropist, that one church more has acted on the subject. We trust that others throughout the free states will follow the example.

"At a meeting on the 11th day of July, 1836, of the members of the Presbyterian church in New Richmond, Clermont county, and state of Ohio, Mr. Dan Davis was chosen moderator, and Robert Porter clerk, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"According to the preliminary principles laid down in our Book of Discipline, 'the

lights of private judgment in all matters that respect religion, is universal and inalienable. That in perfect consistency with the above principle of common right, every church, or union, or association of particular churches, is entitled to declare the terms of admission into its communion, and the qualifications of its ministers and members, as well as the whole system of its internal government, which Christ hath appointed.'

"Therefore, believing it right for any church or society to declare the terms of communion and fellowship of such membership; and, having come to the conclusion, from the word of God, and the universal consciousness of all mankind, that selling, and buying, and owning men, women, and children, *as property*, is unjust and unchristian, and a horrid violation of the commands of the Lord our God, who requires all men to *do justly*, and to *love mercy*, and to deny all ungodliness and unrighteousness; and, that to make a genuine profession of religion, it is required to give up, immediately, all known sin, as the only test of our regeneration and obedience.

"Therefore, we do most solemnly entreat our sister churches in the United States, who may be living in the sin of slave-holding, to put the evil away from among them without delay, that they may become what God requires of them to be, a holy people, and zealous of good works; and not to live any longer to follow the example of poor barbarous Africa, in making slaves of their fellow-men. (For oh! it's a shame for such a thing to be named amongst us, that a single Christian, in the United States of America, should own a slave).—

"Therefore, Resolved, That this church hereafter debar all persons from her communion, who are guilty of holding men, women, or children, *as property*, or who advocate the system. That we shall cordially receive with open arms and Christian regard, those churches who may repent and forsake the above practice.

"Resolved, that the above preamble and resolutions be recorded in the session-book, and duly enforced by the session.

"Resolved, That the foregoing preamble and resolutions be published in the Cincinnati Journal and Luminary, and the Philanthropist.

"DAN DAVIS, Moderator.

"A true copy. ROBERT PORTER, Clerk."

Slavery in America.

No. X.—APRIL, 1837.

CHRISTIAN SLAVERY.

A GENERAL view of Christian slavery will show what yet remains to be done, and justify an earnest appeal to a Christian and anti-slavery public, for sympathy and vigorous effort in the work of universal emancipation. We say nothing in what follows of the slavery of British India. There are—

In the United States	2,500,000 slaves.
In Brazil	2,000,000 —
In the Spanish Possessions	500,000 —
In the French Possessions	300,000 —
In the Possessions of Portugal, Denmark, Holland, &c.	200,000 —
Add to these, the victims of prejudice in the United States,—the afflicted and down-trodden free (so called) people of color, the masterless slaves of America	500,000
And we have before us	6,000,000

(Six millions) of human beings prostrate beneath the hoof of a relentless tyranny, for no other crime than the color of their skins! What mind can grasp the amount of injustice, misery, pollution, and soul-murder, comprised in this most impious and inhuman system! Five millions five hundred thousand human beings held in a state of brutal subjection by nominally Christian nations! Odious and diabolical conspiracy against the liberties of mankind! Half of these are found in the far-famed Republican States of North America: the land of liberty; the asylum for the oppressed of all nations,—where it is declared, that “all men are born *free and equal*,” and that “resistance to tyrants is obedience to

God." America! the land of the pilgrims,—the land of Elliott, and Edwards, and Hancock, and Adams, and Franklin, and Washington! In this land of revivals, and educational and missionary operations, and saints, and heroes, and philosophers, and liberators, there are three millions of oppressed human beings: two millions five hundred thousand in a state of brutal subjection to the 'avarice, lust, and power of irresponsible masters, and the rest shut out from every social privilege, on account of their connexion (near or remote, it is the same) with the African race.

CASE OF TWO FEMALE CAPTIVES RESCUED.

(From the "*Right and Wrong*," in Boston.)

On Saturday, July 30th, a brig was observed to come to one of the wharves, and suddenly to put back, in consequence, it seemed, of something said to the captain by a man who was waiting his arrival. Some men of color, who observed these proceedings, took a boat, with the intention of going on board. They were ordered off; but on rowing round the vessel, they discovered it to be the *Clickasaw*, in the Baltimore trade; and, on further examination, perceived two women making signals of distress to them from the cabin windows. They instantly obtained a writ of habeas corpus, by which the women were taken from the custody of the captain, and conveyed to Leverett-street jail; where they were ministered unto by a few who had not forgotten to "maintain the cause of the innocent," nor shrink from the visitation of prisoners; nor neglected the fatherless in their affliction: and who felt the humiliating contrast between what men do, and what they ought to do.

Knowing so many painful facts respecting the seizure of free persons of color for slaves, we felt great sympathy with these women, and determined to give them, at the trial, whatever comfort our presence might afford. We recollected that the same hall had been thronged with ladies to listen to the pleadings of Mr. Wirt and Mr. Webster, and that many ladies had even travelled to Salem to hear sentence of death pronounced upon the Knapps; and, therefore, we were under no temptation to omit any attention or kindness to these women, on the ground that the manner of it was unusual, or considered improper.

Five members of our Society entered the court-room about 9 o'clock on Monday morning, and found the prisoners already there, in consultation with their counsel. After the entrance of Judge Shaw, the business commenced with a statement from the counsel for the claimant, that these women were the property of John B. Morris, of Baltimore; that the constitution contained a provision by which they must be returned to him; and that he, the counsel, demanded a reasonable construction of the constitution! Mr. Sewall, the prisoners' counsel, argued in opposition, that in the Bill of Rights, it was laid down, as the basis of the practice of the courts of law in Massachusetts, that ALL are born FREE, and have the right of enjoying and defending their liberties. This elicited slight applause from the audience, who were principally persons of color, which they instantly suppressed on finding it was not in order.

Here Judge Shaw arose to give his decision. He observed that he had, as courtesy demanded, listened to the arguments of both gentlemen, though he

did not think them applicable to the present case; the question being simply this—Has the captain of the brig Chickasaw a right to 'convert his vessel into a prison? [Here a hurried consultation took place between the agent of the claimant and his counsel; and one of our members, who, from being also one of the Society of Friends, has had abundant opportunity to observe the course taken by slave-hunters, in cases like the present, beckoned to the person who sat nearest to the prisoners, and requested him to tell them to wait for nothing after they should be discharged; to listen for their discharge, and depart as soon as they received it, as but an instant would intervene before some other means would be resorted to, to detain them.] All this occupied but a moment. The messenger walked quietly back to his seat by the prisoners; all parties listened breathlessly for the decision, the judge still continuing his speech. Our blood stood still as he went on; and the time seemed interminable. "Whence it appears,"—said he, at length,—“that the prisoners must be discharged.” All rose at the word—the prisoners, the colored women who surrounded them, the counsel on both sides. The agent extended his hand to seize them. A spell seemed to hold them in the same position, one deeply-exciting instant. The next, and the room was empty. A single voice among the crowd said "Go! Go!" There was no other noise but the sound of feet, and a slight shriek from one of the women, who fainted in the lobby, and was carried down stairs.

The following minutes of a conversation with one of these female captives are worth preserving. She said, speaking of the agent—"I was surprised to find they called him Turner in court; for he told me, on board the vessel, that his name was William Wilson, and William Wilson I knew was a Methodist minister in Maryland; but I had never seen him, and did not know but this man was he. He asked to see my free papers, and as soon as he got them he destroyed them. He said I ought to be ashamed to do as I had done. I told him, *No; for I had done nothing wrong.* He said he knew that, but what could I want more than I had always had? Told me, that it was little we wanted here below, for life was short."

Question. Were you ever a slave?

Answer. Yes.

Q. Were you happy in slavery?

A. No.

Q. Had you a kind master?

A. Yes; I never was whipped since I was a woman grown.

Q. Why were you not happy, then?

A. Could you live always in horror, and be happy! Master used to say, he never would sell us; but the price of us is rising every day; people got round him, making offers—the Georgia houses were near; master didn't talk as he used to do, about never selling us. Oh, there is nothing but horror to look forward to in slavery!

* * * * *

Q. Why did you come to the North?

A. I thought I should not be in danger of falling into slavery again, if I could but get to the free states. I did not expect to meet such troubles the moment I got here; nor to meet such friends to care for me. either.

Q. Did you ever hear of abolitionists?

A. (As if the word was one she did not understand) Abolitionists? No.

Q. Did you ever hear of colonizationists?

A. Yes; they always come round us as soon as we get free, and are doing well, to persuade us to go to Liberia. But they are found out now. They will not deceive many more so.

Q. Can you read?

A. A little.

Q. Were you ever on a plantation?

A. O my God, yes; but only on a visit. I never could tell you what they suffer. Most of the slaves that I know are pious. They often meet to pray. Two or three will sometimes get together privately, and pray all night for deliverance.

Q. But if they do not know that there are any at the North laboring and praying for them, how do they think it is to come?

A. They are waiting to see God do it for them in some wonderful manner, as he did for the Israelites. No human power can do it. We pray to him, and have faith in him only; for the whole world seems to have forgotten us.

Q. Did you use to go to church?

A. Yes. I am a member of the Methodist church.

Q. Do you think that all slaves ought to be free?

A. (Much surprised) Yes, certainly.

Q. Would there not be danger of the bad tempered ones killing their masters for having kept them so long in slavery?

A. (In extreme astonishment) Why, no indeed! Why should they? All they want is to get free. They are willing to work: they don't want any thing wrong. Kill their masters for doing right by them!

Q. But is this opinion, that they ought to be free, a common one among the slaves?

A. (Very solemnly) Yes. Of course, they all know it is wrong to keep them in slavery.

Q. What makes them think so?

A. Of course they think so. It stands to reason.

Q. Did it not distress you to leave your friends?

A. Yes, it was a trying thing; but I had rather die than go back.

Q. Would not every thing go to wreck and ruin if the slaves were all made free? Would they not be lazy and miserable?

A. Would not they work better if they had something to show for it? Just think how it would be with yourself; except when people get very old. Oh, if you would only take it home to yourself, and think what you should suffer to see your old mother obliged to work to the last minute! It does seem as if, when people get worn out, they ought not to work.

In many conversations, we had an opportunity of witnessing the nice moral sense, and the ardent piety of this woman. We showed her some of the anti-slavery publications, and she seemed surprised at the correctness of the description of the condition of slaves. "Only," she added, "it is impossible to put such dreadful sufferings properly into print."

Here was the testimony of what American slavery is in its mildest form. When we speak of the two millions and a half, how apt are we to forget that every one of them has a history which it would shock a Christian to hear related! Whether it were of the dancing, singing, degraded slave, degraded

into contentment with his condition ; whose greatest failure in duty appears, according to slaveholding morals, in running away, and whose highest virtue lies in reverencing as gods the men who live by his unrequited toil : the higher spirited and higher gifted being, who is crushed or driven to frenzy by the attempts to make him like the first : or the mild and intelligent slave, from whom education and the Bible have not been entirely withheld, and whose suffering lies chiefly in apprehension.

These are painful details ; but it is either the sickly sentimentalist, or the base denier of human brotherhood, that would see only the fair-seeming garment with which slaveholders invest their system, nor look beneath to mark how "the iron enters into the soul," in order the better to devise the means to effect its removal.

AN AFFECTIONATE EXPOSTULATION WITH CHRISTIANS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

BECAUSE OF THE CONTINUANCE OF NEGRO SLAVERY THROUGHOUT MANY DISTRICTS
OF THEIR COUNTRY.*

CHRISTIAN BRETHERN,—Among the thirteen millions of human beings who inhabit the United States of America, we understand that there are nearly three millions who are Africans, either by birth or descent, and that two millions three hundred thousand of these are slaves. We read in works descriptive of America, that many of these enslaved Africans, men and women, are herded together like cattle, that they may increase their numbers, and provide a supply of slaves for the market, where they are sold and bought according to the proportions of their frame, the elasticity of their muscles, and the vigour of their constitution ; put up to sale by ontery, bid for by competitors, and disposed of in lots, or severally, at the pleasure of purchasers : every feeling of delicacy, every endearment of parental tenderness, and every bond of infantile sympathy or dependence, being violated and set at naught.

We perceive in the accounts furnished of America, whether by natives or foreigners, whether friends or foes, that in certain States, every person who is deemed to inherit any relation, by blood or colour, to the African race, and who cannot, by legal documents, prove his freedom, or who enters those States as a stranger, is deemed a slave, and subjected to the ignominy, privations, and toils—the laceration and bereavements of bondage—the sufferings and sorrows of a slave.

This slavery is described to us as forced servitude—labour without wages, and toil without respite, so long as life continues ; during which both men and women, the child and the aged, are reduced to this violent constraint, while their task-master is most generally the alone practical judge of the kind, degree, and time of labour, and of the subsistence which the slave shall receive. The master's conduct proves that he can imprison, beat, scourge, wound, and otherwise injure the body, and grieve and vex the spirit of the bondsman, at his own discretion, or depute such power to whom he pleases—even the lowest menial, or a fellow-slave ;—that husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister,

* This document, we understand, was drawn up by the Rev. A. Somerville, of Dumbarton ; and received the signatures of four thousand two hundred persons in the neighbourhood of Perth.

may be severed from each other, and the dearest ties be wrenched asunder, at the caprice, for the profit, or to meet the exigencies, of the person called *owner* of the unhappy victims. We learn, also, that the creditor, the executor, or the tax-gatherer, may seize the slave, his family, wife, children, or parents, or the produce of his hands, and sell the whole, together, or in several lots, to unknown, unfeeling, and unrighteous men-stealers, who traffic in slaves and the souls of men; while the death of a tyrant brings no relief, and the decease of an indulgent possessor may but fulfil the bequest which devises them to a severe oppressor and a cruel master, without the power of remonstrance or even the right of redemption.—Brethren, if we were in the vales of Africa, subject to such a system, what should we be inclined to do? And if we thought we could break our chains and fetters, forged and rivetted by injustice, and consulted to take measures for our release, would you call it treason, rebellion, and murder?

We read in the laws of those States where slavery prevails, that this injustice, cruel bondage, and degradation, are not left to the passion or pleasure of the master, but that enactments and laws, deliberately framed by legislative councils and congresses, are the measure by which the *portion* of American Africans is meted out. That they prohibit the education of negroes in reading, or in the means of intellectual improvement or intercourse—that negroes may not teach negroes—that schools may not be established or conducted, either by or for negroes, or their kindred—that fines, scourging, imprisonment, and death are the legal penalty for such efforts. We have heard of amiable females, not related by consanguinity to the African, suffering imprisonment for attempts thus to ameliorate the condition of the negro. All this is the portion, not of the present race only, but the inheritance, the heir-loom of our negro brother, his children, and his children's children, for many generations.

We perceive, too, from your most public and highly official documents, that, while school-houses are built, education provided, and religious instructors and facilities for improvement are assured by national treaty to the few thousands of red Indians in your land; and while your missionaries are sent to the debased Greek, the bigoted Mussulman, barbarian Islanders, Chinese idolaters, effeminate Hindoos, the Buddhist of Birmah, and even the wanderers in the vale of Mississippi, your government contemplates restrictions on your own press, brands and calumniates the friends of humanity, and discountenances the discussion of the freedom of three millions of your own fellow-subjects, who were forced into your service, or carried captive from their father-land,—while such measures are recommended as may, it is presumed, secure their continued subjection to injustice, oppression, and cruelty. Your missionaries are excluded from them as a field of labour; your publications intended for them are burned by tumultuous assemblies, or withheld by authorized officials; your places of worship are closed against them; your Christian churches hold no visible, or a very doubtful, communion with Christians among them; or your Christian intercourse is distinguished by obscure seats and curtains of concealment; so that when these children of Ethiopia would stretch out their hands unto God, and submit themselves to Jesus, your assemblies discountenance their approaches, and the arms of many are raised to push them away, and compel them to worship without the gate, and become supplicants to the Lord God of Sabaoth for deliverance from the oppression of their brethren.—“For it was not an enemy that reproached me; then I could have borne it: neither

was it he that hated me that did magnify himself against me ; then I could have hid myself from him. But it was thou, A MAN, *mine equal*," &c.

Yet, we have been told, God has not withheld his grace and Spirit from some of these poor negroes, but has brought them into the glorious liberty of the gospel, and adopted them into his family, thereby declaring them his sons and daughters. Such of them are, therefore, no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God. We hear of their congregations for his worship, when, as those that fear the Lord, they speak often one to another, and think upon his name ; and although discouraged by the brethren of a different skin, and excluded as if they were defiled lepers, and ceremonially unclean, yet do they seem to obtain nearness of access to a heavenly Father, and a Divine Redeemer, and a gracious Comforter. If so, in their afflictions he is afflicted ; precious in his sight are their souls. He sees their sorrows, numbers their sighs, and puts their tears into his bottle ; and he will show in his own good time the truth of that work, "He hath sent *Me* to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives ; and the opening of the prison to them that are bound."

We respectfully inquire, "Are these things so ? Is this picture a true representation of the condition of the negro in your country ? or in how many districts of your country is it to be witnessed ? Does it prevail where hallowed and soul-cheering revivals of religion have been experienced ? Are slave-dungeons to be found in or near your capital, and within the precincts of your legislative halls ? Since you were a federated union, have you joined with yourselves 'States' which have been founded on the principle that slavery should be maintained in them ? Have you, indeed, extended your arms of protection to the few white planters and merchants, that in those States they may be able to bear down, lead captive, and place 'heavy burdens' on hundreds of thousands of suppliant negroes ? Have you seen the place of negro worship in your largest city torn down, the church of one of your most distinguished preachers rifled, his house assaulted, and his person endangered, because he had advocated the claims of humanity, and pleaded for the negro ? Have you witnessed the furious denunciations, the threatenings of slaughter, the conspiracies and convulsions, which have been used against our countryman and his fellow-labourers in your land, because they laboured to convince and enlighten the citizens of America, that it was ungenerous, unjust, and disgraceful to hold any man, black or white, in bonds and chains, in slavery and oppression, who had committed nothing against the people or customs of their fathers ? Are these things known to you, and what have you done ?"

We do not ask, brethren, are you not apprehensive that to uphold such a system may be to cherish a viper in your bosom, and nourish with fearful power a volcano in the bowels of your country : we need not describe security under such circumstances as the confidence of one who hangs over a precipice, or who reposes under an impending avalanche ; but we hesitate not to affirm, that to maintain slavery is to violate the first laws of nature, and to trample on the dearest rights of man,—those rights which no man could give, but which God has established in the economy of human existence ; and which, being justly called NATURAL rights—such as are life and liberty—need not the aid of human laws to become more effectually invested in every man than they are ; neither do they receive additional strength when declared by the municipal law to be inviolable. Yet we venture to remind you, that "the Declaration of American

Independence" has uttered, with an emphasis not greater than the importance of the subject demands, as *self-evident truths*, that "ALL MEN are created EQUAL; that they are endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed: that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its power in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." Were weapons of war honourably employed by your fathers, seventy years ago, to establish these principles in *theory*, and would they be unjustly wielded by three millions of negroes, to illustrate their universal application?

Mr. Poinsett, one of your distinguished citizens, and a servant of your government, has said—and his language expresses the common feeling of your people—that the circumstances to which the United States owe their prosperity "will be found to consist in liberal institutions, wisely and faithfully administered; a rigid adherence to the Constitution—without which, one branch of the government usurps the prerogatives of another; a perfect submission to the will of the people constitutionally expressed; a universal desire to promote the common good, and an intimate union for this end; a strict and impartial administration of justice; the liberty which every one enjoys of employing his time and means in improving his condition, without the interference of the government; the equality of *all* before the law; direct and purely popular elections, which elevate the character of the mass of the people; and, lastly, the means of education, abundant and cheap, which make the people capable of governing themselves." Is any one of these advantages shared by the negro in your land? But their three millions are a greater number than could be found in all the States when they declared their independence of Britain in the year 1776.

Mr. Jefferson, another of your most eminent patriots, and for a season a president over all the States, has exclaimed—and how truly! May not every dispassionate observer repeat the exclamation?—"What an incomprehensible machine is man! who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and death itself, in vindication of his own liberty, and the next moment be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow-men a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose. But we must await with patience the workings of an overruling Providence, and hope that *that* is preparing the deliverance of these our suffering brethren. When the measure of their tears shall be full,—when their groans shall have involved heaven itself in darkness,—doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress, and, by diffusing light and liberality among their oppressors, or, at length, by his exterminating thunder, manifest his attention to the things of this world, and that they are not left to the guidance of a blind fatality." Do you await, brethren, for "the exterminating thunder" till the groans of the negroes "shall have involved heaven itself in darkness?" Are ye reconciled to be found at that day among the guilty throng who shall be charged with filling up the measure of the Africans' tears?

Do not the words of inspiration explicitly tell us, that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth?" Are

the negroes men? Does that one blood flow in their veins? Compare the gushing streams which run down their furrowed, because scourged backs, with the smooth unruffled current which circulates in your own vessels, and you will perceive it "one blood." Does not the golden rule prescribe, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." And were the condition of the negroes to be reversed, and were you in bonds in slavery such as theirs, what would ye that they should do? Would you desire *these* men to render unto you even the measure of your own dealing toward them for three hundred years? Does not the universal law of our Lord enjoin, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." And who is your neighbour, has been already answered by the deeply interesting story of the good Samaritan, after whose example we have been commanded to conform ourselves.

To you, our fellow-Christians, we say, what is the price with which ye were redeemed? Was it not by the blood of him who instructed his disciples, saying, "This is my commandment, that ye love one another as I have loved you." He who "was rich, and for our sakes became poor," has enjoined on us that we should exhibit the same mind in us which was also in him. But is slavery in your country conformable to this standard—is it according to this rule? And is it true that professing Christians advocate, or even palliate, such a system? Are teachers of religion silent on this subject? Do Christians of high profession and serious pretensions to godliness sanction this robbery by their practice? Do servants of Christ Jesus partake in the evil deeds of an oppression so cruel and unnatural; and minister in holy things, while the "hire of the labourers who have reaped down their fields, which is of them kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them who have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth?" It is reported commonly among us, brethren, that there is such injustice in American churches!

We have heard of urgent excuses and pretexts for the past conduct and the present condition of the public mind among you, and it is not our province to judge or set at nought our brethren; we cannot weigh every consideration, nor estimate every difficulty.—It has been said that each State retains as its prerogative, legislation for its internal economy; and that the federation of the United States cannot interfere by its Congress between the several States and their own assemblies: That discussion would occasion intestine commotion—perhaps a disruption of the States; while there would be danger of exciting the negroes.—That there are many serious difficulties we believe; the way of sin is down-hill; and we sympathise with many of you in the impending danger. We fear God may himself come forth from his hiding-place, and make inquiry for blood. We know that the elements of nature, fire and water, are his messengers; and that he holds the *hearts* as well as the *hands* of men subservient to his government, and can make all these his ministering spirits. Much of your national prosperity may be involved in his controlling direction of these. We have learned that it is then, when men are most in danger of rejoicing in their prosperity and the success of their achievements, that he comes near them to take cognizance of their inconsistencies and transgressions.

You have already contended with and overcome greater difficulties, than will be found in the way of the enfranchisement of the negroes. Your national independence was secured amidst many dangers and sacrifices; but that was not to wipe away so foul a stain as slavery is upon your banner. War was again brought to your door, but you were enabled to resist the invader. You

have opened paths in the forest, reared cities in the wilderness, and found ports in every quarter of the world for your produce and your commerce. You have risen from being a colony of outcast pilgrim-fathers to occupy an equality with the greatest nations, and to be welcomed as a confederate with the most renowned empires on the earth. No menace can daunt you, and no foe dare to insult you. Your sails are unfurled, and your standard floats in every region, on every sea, and before every wind. You have become great. We have perused with admiration your pious resolutions to supply every family in particular States with Bibles, and to circulate that sacred volume in every hamlet of your favoured land. We know not if you included the negro race in the generous resolution—and yet such a boon would almost appear like heaping insult upon injury upon those from whom the laws withhold the privilege of learning to read—but if so, then surely we may plead with you for the blessing of natural and civil liberty for those who have never forfeited their rights. We have been told of your simultaneous subscriptions and zealous efforts for missions among the Indians, and for the Mississippi Valc. O could you not put forth the same godlike benevolence for the African people? Ultimately you will find it both more pleasant, and more safe and easy, to do justice, to love mercy, to undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free, than it is to do evil with both your hands. With what renovated energy, with what moral power, with what hallowed consistency and honourable courage, will you then be able to go up to the work of the Lord, and seek his favour. Then will that righteousness which exalteth a nation be wrought by you in peace; and the career of your glory will be like the path of the just, which shineth brighter and brighter until the perfect day. As you have become *great*, so will you then appear *good*; and your name among the nations will be as ointment poured forth. You will have wiped out, from your banner of liberty, that dark stain which is pointed at with derision by the scorning of every despot, and every enemy of the rights of man. You will no longer be an abettor of the least enlightened, the lowest, the most bigotted and barbarian of the nations of the earth, in their oppression of their fellow-men; and it will not be true that you give countenance to the most savage traffic, the most appalling cruelties, the most iniquitous desolations and bereavements, the most guilty, depraved, and ruinous violation of the social and domestic rights, sympathies, and intercourse of man, which have been so long practised, and are still, alas! extensively inflicted, by men boasting of their civilization, upon the inhabitants of Africa, by the ravages of the slave-trade, and the horrors of the middle passage; when these victims of lust and rapine are carried to a western market. Rise, ye children of our forefathers—quit you like men—be strong, be just, and fear not. Let your righteousness shine forth as the light, and your judgment as the noon-day.

JAMAICA.—RIOTOUS INTERRUPTION OF A BIBLE SOCIETY MEETING.

WE understand that a meeting was held in the Court-House, at St. Ann's Bay, on Friday evening, the 25th ult., at which the Rev. Mr. Thompson, agent for the British and Foreign Bible Society, and several of the missionaries in that parish, were present. The meeting was numerously attended by the apprentices in the town and neighbourhood, and but for a few mischievous individuals, no doubt much good would have resulted. It is reported that the principal disturber of the harmony of the meeting, was the head constable for the parish, the notorious S. Drake. This man is said to have gone about amongst those negroes who were not sufficiently near the platform to hear what was said by the different speakers, and told them that the object of the meeting was to bind the apprentices to serve seven years longer. The infamous fabrication obtained among those poor ignorant creatures who knew not how to appreciate the character of the Rev. Gentlemen present, and the misled portion of the assembly rushed forward with clubs, and knocked down the hands of those who supported the passing of the resolutions proposed for adoption in the customary way, and, but for the prudence of the conductors of the meeting, who, perceiving the confusion created, dispensed with this formal passing of the resolutions, Mr. Head-Constable might have learnt that he had kindled a fire beyond the power of himself and his assistants to extinguish. To show how tenacious the apprentices are in regard to the point adverted to, we need only to add that the statement made, that there was a design in existence to protract the term of apprenticeship, has spread throughout the parish, and produced the most intense interest; and though we are credibly informed that the different missionaries have given full and explicit explanations to their several congregations, as to the nature and design of the meeting at the court-house, with the intention to disabuse the minds of the negroes, yet a great deal of manifest suspicion exists among them. We should like to know what punishment ought to be considered sufficient for such miscreants as those capable of conduct such as we have described. Our readers would say, transportation from the island would be too good for them.

Jamaica Watchman.

SLAVERY UNDER THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

THERE are no papers on Slavery under the head of Bombay in the collection, although it is evident that there have been communications from that presidency to the Court of Directors, on the subject, and a minute on slavery by Mr. Duncan, the Governor of Bombay, is referred to. A few incidental notices on slavery in Bombay are, however, intermingled with the Bengal and Madras papers, from which we extract the following.

In 1793 two natives of Tellicherry convicted of decoying children, and selling them as slaves, were sentenced to be flogged through Tellicherry, and then sent to Bombay for the purpose of being transported to the Andamans; and the Commissioners for Malabar wrote soon after to the chief at Tellicherry:—

"Finding it asserted by Shamanath that the practice of shipping kidnapped, and other natives as slaves, from the several ports on this coast, is still more or

less continued, notwithstanding the various prohibitions which have been issued against a practice so nefarious, so destructive, and so inhuman, in whatever light considered, we do think it our duty to require your most unremitted attention to prevent any such transaction in time to come."

It had been the custom at Tellicherry, that on the sale of a slave both parties should appear before the chief of the factory, and proof was required that the slave had been legally acquired by the seller, in default of which the slave was liberated; but after the English acquired possession of the whole of Malabar, this wholesome custom fell into disuse, and the practice of kidnapping recommenced.

In 1796, the Bombay government was applied to by the king of Johanna, for protection against the people of the north of Madagascar, who, assisted by the French, had attacked his dominions, and carried off many of his people into slavery; the king offered to surrender his dominions to the English, but this was declined by the Bengal government, who desired that a supply of muskets and ammunition should be sent to him, and that his envoys at Bombay might enlist any seapoys who were willing to go with them.

The Bombay government having established a plantation for cassia, &c., at Rhandatana, in Malabar, Mr. Brown, the Superintendent, informed the Factory at Calicut, in 1798, that in consequence of the difficulty he found in procuring a sufficient number of labourers, he had purchased according to the custom of the country, about forty-five Poolliars, men, women, and children, whom he found very useful. The factory replied that they could not sanction this proceeding, till they had the Government's order on the subject, but the latter approving, Mr. Brown was authorized to purchase as many Poolliars as he required. This led to the encouragement of kidnapping in a large scale, which was afterwards brought to light, and has already been described in the Madras papers.

In 1799, a boy who had been stolen, and kept in slavery for ten years, was liberated on the ground that he had not originally been brought before the chief at Tellicherry for registration; the chief and factory declared at the same time, "that the utmost vigilance and pains have been constantly exerted by them to put a stop to so nefarious a practice, and that they had in numerous instances been successful in discovering persons in a state of slavery, who had been kidnapped and sold even as far as Bombay, and had the satisfaction of returning them to their families."

In 1808, a man was convicted of stealing a child at Tellicherry, and he was sentenced to imprisonment and hard labour for three years, and to receive twenty-four stripes with a rattan.

In 1812, the Bengal Government with reference to the regulations of 1811, prohibiting the importation of slaves into Bengal, and also to the Act of Parliament of 1811, directed the Bombay Government to pass a similar regulation, which was accordingly done, the importation of slaves being prohibited by land and sea, by Regulation 1, of 1813.

In 1816, the Advocate General at Bombay, gave his opinion that the object of the legislature in the Act of 1811, was indisputably to put an end to slavery in any shape, within the sphere of British jurisdiction; this being referred to Bengal, the Advocate General there gave his opinion that the legislature did not intend to emancipate those who were at the time slaves, but that the Act of 1811, was intended to prevent the trade and traffic in future. The Advocate General at Bombay also gave his opinion, that no person whatever, residing in the

British territory, can either directly or indirectly assist in restoring any slave who may have escaped into the British territories, without incurring the penalty of transportation. On these points the Bengal government decided that the Act of Parliament did not interfere with the relations already legally existing between masters and slaves, and that a slave, by entering the Company's territory, does not become free, and further, that the removal or importation of slaves by land is not prohibited.

Connected with these proceedings Mr. Elphinstone, the Resident at Poonah, stated that he had received an application from the widow of Nanah Furnavese, the late prime minister of the Mahratta State, for the restoration of eight slaves of hers, who had fled to Tannah, and that there were similar complaints from our own seapoys and followers. Mr. Carnac, the resident at Baroda, also represented that many slaves had run away from the Guicowars territories, in consequence of the protection they received in the British dominions, since he had entertained doubts of the propriety of interfering in their apprehension. The doubts entertained by these gentlemen, and by the Bombay government, as to the propriety of interfering in restoring runaway slaves were, however, set at rest by the decision of the Bengal government, as abovementioned, and the Governor General observed "that with reference to the extent to which domestic slavery exists in India, under the established laws and usages of the Hindoos and Mahommedans, and to the known habits and feelings of the people relative to that point, it is desirable that the greatest care should be observed, to guard against the prevalence of an impression among the natives that, any general or direct interference in the existing relation of master and slaves is contemplated by Government."

In 1819, Capt. Briggs, the political agent in Candeish, informed Mr. Elphinstone that an application having been made to him for permission to purchase some slaves, he found the slaves in question were some young women and girls, who had been purchased in Berar from persons who said they had got them during a late scarcity there. Captain Briggs stated that the practice of carrying off children from one part of the country to sell in another part, was not unusual amongst the Mahratta Wemjarries, who had brought these slaves to Candeish; and he requested to be informed if the practice of carrying about slaves for sale, of which many instances had lately been brought to his notice, was still to be permitted. To this Mr. Elphinstone replied that, "the sale of slaves as described in the above-mentioned letter is to be permitted, but all attempts to carry off young people by force, will be punished in the severest manner." This reply being brought to the notice of the Bengal government, Mr. Elphinstone was required to state the grounds of his opinion regarding the expediency of permitting the sale of slaves; as "independently of the general question as to tolerating the continuance of slavery, it is supposed to be very difficult to prevent the carrying off of young people by force or stealth, and other practices, if the sale be permitted."

Mr. Elphinstone replied, that his "reason for permitting the sale of slaves was the general principle of not interfering with the laws of the country, strengthened in this instance by an indistinct recollection of having received instructions founded on that principle three or four years ago," when in doubt whether he ought to restore slaves who might take refuge in the cantonments of the Poonah subsidiary force. The Bengal government, however, decided, that as the importation of slaves by land and sea, and the sale of such slaves, were

strictly prohibited under the presidency of Fort William, "his lordship is not aware of any sufficient objection to the extension of a similar prohibition to the territories conquered from the late Peishwa;" and instructions to that effect were accordingly issued by the Bombay government.

Another case of a similar nature occurred about the same time in Ahmednuggur, on which Mr. Chaplin, the Commissioner in the Deccan (who had just succeeded Mr. Elphinstone), observed, "I conceive that any restrictive measure that should at once put a stop to the sale of slaves, would be an innovation which would trench materially, not only on long-established customs, but on the rights of private property. Whether this species of servitude, or, rather, of mild bondage, is eventually to be continued, under certain modifications, or to be abolished entirely, is a question which is probably now under consideration; but as the importation of slaves from the Nizams frontier, in consequence of the security which prevails there, has of late greatly increased, the subject of your letter will be referred to the Hon. the Governor in Council. Whatever eventual evil may result from the continuance of the traffic, it is certainly, I think, the means, at the present moment, of much actual good, inasmuch as it has the effect of preserving the lives of numbers of parents and children who would otherwise perish from famine."

Thus the opinions of both Commissioners in the Deccan were against abolishing the importation and sale of slaves in the newly-acquired districts; yet the measure was enforced by the Bengal government, and there is no intimation of its having been attended with any ill effects.

There is no direct reference to agricultural slavery in the Bombay provinces (from which Tellicherry has been separated, and placed under Madras), from which it may be inferred that either it does not exist, or is very rarely to be met with; but from the above notices, scanty as they are, it may be concluded that domestic slavery is by no means uncommon. Subjoined are some notices of slavery in Malwa, a part of which belongs to the British, though it is chiefly occupied by native princes.

Extract from Sir John Malcolm's Report on Malwa, dated Feb. 11, 1821.

Slavery in Malwa is chiefly limited to females; but there is, perhaps, no province in India where there are so many slaves of this sex. The dancing-girls are all purchased when young by the nakins, or heads of the different sects, who often lay out large sums in these purchases; female children and grown-up young women are bought by all ranks. Among the Rajpoot chiefs these slaves are very numerous, as also in the homes of the principal Brahmins; the usage, however, descends to the lowest ranks, and few merchants or cultivators with any property are without mistresses or servants of this description. Male slaves are rare, and never seen but with some men of rank and property, with whom they are usually the confidential servants. There are a variety of ways in which slaves are procured in Malwa; numbers date their condition from a famine or scarcity, when men sold their children to those who were able to support them, with the natural view of preserving the lives of their offspring, at the same time that they obtained means of protracting their own. A great number of the slaves of Malwa (come) from Rajpootana, where the excesses of the Mahrattas drove the inhabitants to exile, and to such distress as to be compelled to part with their children. But besides these sources of slavery, there are others of a more criminal nature. There are many instances of Rajpoots and men of other

tribes, particularly Soandees, selling the children whom they have by their slaves, and who are deemed to be born in a state of bondage. This only takes place when the father is in distress, or when he is tempted by a large price. The sale, however, of the offspring of these women by other fathers than their masters is more common. The slaves bred (to use a term suited to their own condition) in this manner are not numerous; but the further demand is supplied by the Binjarries, who import females into and from Guzerat and other countries, which they usually pretend to have bought; and by the tribe of Gwarriah, who have been noticed as open and professed stealers of female children. When these slaves are bought, an inquiry is made as to their tribe, and the general answer (particularly from the Gwarriahs) is, that they are Rajpoots. The children are taught to make pretensions to high birth, and daily instances occur of whole families losing caste in consequence of their being too hastily credited. When persons of inferior tribes discover their daughters, or husbands their betrothed wives, in the house of Brahmins, which often happens, the latter are compelled to undergo long and expensive penances, to recover the purity from which they and their family have fallen, in consequence of being defiled by intercourse with females so far below them. It is a remarkable fact, and one of the few creditable to the late community of the Pindarries, that among the numerous prisoners of all ages and sexes whom they took, though they employed them as servants, gave them to their chiefs, and accepted ransoms for them from their relations, they never sold them into bondage, nor carried on, like the Binjarries, a traffic in slaves. Females in Malwa, except in times of scarcity, or general distress from any cause (when they are very cheap), are sold from 40 to 50, to 100 and 150 rupees; the price is accordant with their appearance. They have been at times an article of considerable commerce, many being annually sent to the southward, particularly to the Poonah territories, where they sold high. This trade, which has of late years decreased, was principally carried on by the Mahratta Brahmins, some of whom amassed great sums by this shameless traffic. Male slaves, it has been stated, are few in Malwa, and are generally treated more like adopted children than menials. The case is very different with females, who, almost in every instance, are sold to prostitution; some, it is true, rise to be favorite mistresses of their master, and enjoy both power and luxury, while others are raised by the success in life of their sons: but these are exceptions. The dancing-women, who are all slaves, are condemned to a life of toil and vice for the profit of others, and some of the first Rajpoot chiefs and zemindars in Malwa, who have from 50 to 200 female slaves in their family, after employing them in all the menial labours of their house during the day, send them at night to their own dwellings, where they are at liberty to form such connexions as they please: but a large share of the profits of that promiscuous intercourse into which they fall is annually exacted by their masters, who adds any children they happen to produce to his list of slaves. The female slaves in this condition, as well as those of the dancing-sets, are not permitted to marry, and often very harshly treated; so that the latter, from this cause, and the connexions they form, are constantly in the habit of running away. If discovered, they are always given up, provided the deed of purchase can be produced, which with them, above all others, must be registered at the cutwall's chabootre, at the period the slave is bought. It is not the habit of the native governments of Malwa to take any cognizance of the punishment which masters inflict upon slaves, except such extend to their

life, when they are responsible ; they are in some cases cruelly treated, but this is not general ; it is, indeed, against the interest of the master to do so, when there are so many ways of escaping from his authority. The state of Malwa for the last thirty years has been favourable to the species of slavery described, and that province is filled with the mixed progeny of these unfortunate women. This traffic must, however, now decrease, as the Gwarriahs and others who carried it on can no longer steal or conceal children with that confidence of impunity which they had long done. A few years ago, no man dared leave his own district to inquire after his wife and daughters ; the whole country can be now traversed in safety. From this cause, and the discoveries of guilt that have recently been made, these stealers of women and children have taken alarm, while the restitution to their relatives of slaves, bought at high prices, must deter future purchasers.

BARBADOES.—WORKING OF THE ABOLITION LAW.

It would seem as if the abolition law is working in any other way than that which is favourable to the apprentices, if we are to judge from a statement which appeared in the *New Times* newspaper, published in that island. It appears that a female prædial, named Naney Hannal, attached to the Osborne's plantation, is the wife of Thomas Collins, another prædial, attached to a neighbouring plantation called Kendal ; that Nancy has always been in the habit of spending the time allowed her by law with her husband ; that being far advanced in pregnancy, during one of these visits, on Sunday night, she was seized with the pangs of labour, which continued to the Friday following, when she was delivered of her first-born ; that from weakness she was confined to her husband's house for four weeks, which, together with the one she was in travail, made five weeks she was away from the property to which she belongs. During this time the husband made repeated applications to her overseer for surgical aid, nourishment, food, &c., for Naney, but was uniformly refused, on the ground that Naney was not on the plantation, and therefore had not entitled herself to any assistance whatever. The poor fellow Collins was thus compelled to make what shifts he could for her recovery, though "when able to work another was to enjoy the fruits of her labour." But this was not all ;—after Naney had come out of confinement, and returned to her work at Osborne's, the overseer cited her husband, Thomas Collins, before Captain Hutchinson, stipendiary special justice of the district, for having harboured his wife Nancy for five weeks. Poor Collins was convicted of the harbouring, and sentenced to pay 5s. per day for the 25 working days his wife was absent, which, if he fails to pay within a given time, he is to be flogged ! The reader will be able to judge in what consists the difference between the slavery and the apprenticeship of this unfortunate man.

R E V I E W.

The Foreign Slave Trade; A Brief Account of its State, of the Treaties which have been entered into, and of the Laws enacted for its Suppression, from the date of the English Abolition Act to the Present Time. London: John Hatchard and Son, 187, Piccadilly. 1837.

THE work now before us has just been published by some friend of the slave, who appears thoroughly informed on the facts of the whole case, and by which the assertion so often made by speakers at Anti-slavery Meetings is fully substantiated, that, notwithstanding all the toil and treasure expended by Great Britain towards the extirpation of the Slave Trade, there is at the present moment actually more of this infernal traffic carried on than at any former period. The first part of the pamphlet is occupied with summary details of the negotiations carried on between Great Britain and the several European governments; but this part of the work has been already, or will be in future numbers, referred to in the articles in our pages under the title of "Foreign Slave Trade." The latter part is devoted to the present condition of the traffic in the human species; the several governments by which it is fostered; and the markets where, with unblushing effrontery, and in spite of stipulations, and treaties, and contracts, it is yet carried on to a frightful extent. It really calls more upon our philosophy, or forbearance, or Christian principle, than we well know how to meet, to be assured, notwithstanding all the efforts of British philanthropists, and all the negotiations of British statesmen, and all the treasure of the British public, that, so far from the traffic being extinguished, it is actually carried on to a more fearful extent than ever; and that the very endeavours of our cruisers to prevent the evil only aggravate the sufferings of the hapless beings who are caught in the fangs of these man-monsters. One almost sickens to belong to the same human nature with the beings who could perpetrate the barbarities we shall in subsequent pages detail;

but if we sicken at the detail, what must it be to endure? Let us beseech our readers, instead of closing the book in disgust, to cast about in their minds, and ask, Is there no possible way in which I can do something towards the removal of this infernal traffic from the world in which I live? Let him talk about it in every company he enters; let him implore the God of justice to avenge the cry of the oppressed and down-trodden African; and let him encourage, by his countenance and contributions, those devoted philanthropists in this country who are banded together to extirpate this hydra evil from the human family.

The appalling facts connected with the carrying on this inhuman traffic were freely circulated in this country during the period that we were parties to the guilt; but many years have since transpired, and most of the reading public of this day, especially the younger portion of them, are little aware of the atrocities perpetrated, from the moment the innocent victims are captured and led away from their homes, to the close of their miserable lives: the following extracts are given from travellers of a later date than those of Mungo Park; and are intended to show that the same features of infamy and cruelty characterize the trade now, as it did in former years.

Extracts from Major Gray's *Travels in Africa: 1818 to 1821*:—

"I had an opportunity of witnessing, during this short march, the new-made slaves, and the sufferings to which they are subjected on their first state of bondage. They were hurried along (tied, as I before stated) at a pace little short of running, to enable them to keep up with the horsemen, who drove them on as Smithfield drovers do fatigued bullocks; many of the women were old, and by no means able to endure such treatment. One in particular was at least sixty years old, in the most miserable state of emaciation and debility, nearly doubled together, and with difficulty dragging her tottering limbs along. She was naked, save from her waist to about halfway to her knees; all this did not prevent

her inhuman captor from making her carry a heavy load of water, while with a rope about her neck he drove her before his horse; and whenever she showed the least inclination to stop, he beat her in the most unmerciful manner with a stick.

"The sufferings of the poor slaves during a march of nearly eight hours, partly under an excessively hot sun, and east wind, heavily laden with water, of which they were allowed to drink very sparingly, and travelling barefoot on a hard and broken soil, covered with thorny underwood, may be more easily conceived than described. One young woman, who had for the first time become a mother two days only before she was taken, and whose child, being thought by her captor too young to be worth saving, was thrown by the inouster into its burning hut, from which the flames had just obliged the mother to retreat, suffered so much from the swollen state of her bosom, that her moans might frequently be heard at the distance of some hundred yards; when refusing to go on, she implored her fiend-like captor to put an end to her existence.

"A man also lay down, and neither blows, entreaties, nor threats of death, could induce him to move. Never did I witness (nor indeed did I think it possible that a human being could endure) such tortures as were inflicted on this man."

From Major Denham's narrative:—

"The ground around the well (at Mesh-roo in Fezzan) is strewn with human skeletons of the slaves who have arrived exhausted with thirst and fatigue. Every few miles a skeleton was seen through the whole day. About sun-set we halted near a well, within half a mile of Meshroo. Round this spot were lying more than one hundred skeletons, some of them with the skin still remaining attached to the bones.

"We bivouacked in the midst of these unearthened remains of the victims of persecution and avarice, after a long day's journey of twenty-six miles, in the course of which, one of our party counted one hundred and seven of the skeletons.

"During the last two days we had passed on an average from sixty to eighty or ninety skeletons each day; but the numbers that lay about the wells at El Hammar, were countless.

"If the hundreds, nay, the thousands of skeletons, that whiten in the blast between this place and Moursuh, did not, of themselves, tell a tale replete with woe, the difference of appearance in all slaves here (where they are fed tolerably) and the state in which they usually arrive in Fezzan,

would but too clearly prove the acuteness of the sufferings which commence on their leaving the negro country."

Extracts from narratives by Major Denham, Capt. Clapperton, and Dr. Oudney:—

"Near the wells of Omah, numbers of human skeletons, or parts of skeletons, lay scattered on the sands, not even a little sand thrown over them.

"While I was dozing on my horse about noon, overcome by the heat of the sun, which at that time of the day always shone with great power, I was suddenly awoken by a crashing under his feet, which startled me excessively. I found that my steed had, without any sensation of fear or alarm, stepped upon the perfect skeletons of two human beings, cracking their brittle bones under his feet, and, by one trip of his foot, separating a skull from the trunk, which rolled on like a ball before him.

* * * * *

"This treaty of alliance was confirmed by the Sheikh's receiving in marriage the daughter of the Sultan of Mandara, and the marriage-portion was to be the produce of an immediate expedition into the Kerdy country, called Musgow, to the south-east of Mandara, by the united force, of the Sheikh and the Sultan. The results were as favourable as the most savage confederacy could have anticipated: three thousand unfortunate wretches were dragged from their native wilds and sold to perpetual slavery; while probably, double that number were sacrificed to obtain them.

"Dirkulla was quickly burnt, and another smaller town near it; and the few inhabitants that were found in them, who were chiefly infants and aged persons, unable to escape, were put to death without mercy, or thrown into the flames. At least twenty thousand poor creatures were slaughtered, and three-fourths of that number, at least, driven into slavery."

Extract from the narrative of a residence at Sierra Leone, by Mr. Rankin:—

"The Gulf of Guinea is studded with fleets of prison-ships that steal into every river, and forcibly convey to the New World from the Old the population of kingdoms. The old and new Calabar, the Bonny, Whidah, and the Gallinas, contribute an inexhaustible supply for the French islands of the West Indies, Rio Janeiro, Havannah, and the Brazils; where, notwithstanding every opposition and hindrance from the British cruisers, one hundred thousand are supposed to arrive in safety

annually, five times that number having been lost by capture or death.

"To supply an annual demand of half a million, the captives in casual warfare, the criminals justly condemned, and even the offending members of the Purrah and the Renudus, are insufficient; and the first evil brought into existence by the export trade, consists in the revolting methods which it introduces of increasing the number of slaves. Wars are promoted, strife between tribes, as well as between individuals, is sedulously fostered; seeds of hatred are industriously sown, that the white man may reap the harvest; laws are perverted; the judge is bribed to sacrifice the innocent, by the price given for the condemned; false accusations are rewarded by unjust sentences. Witchcraft, a crime more easily asserted than disproved, is found particularly to increase, and the inquisitors discover, in their favorite ordeal of boiling oil, or the poisonous red water, a convenient assistant to wealth.

"Nor is this all: kidnapping, the most artificial of crimes, becomes a mode of subsistence; social feeling melts before distrust; and a tribe where this practice is universal, as the Ibbos, may be regarded an aggregation of antagonisms."

The reports of the British Commissioners at Sierra Leone, at the Havana, at Rio de Janeiro, and at Surinam, —and of the British Consuls in the Brazils, at Bahia, at Maranham, at Pernambuco and at Para, have been filled from year to year, with representations and complaints of the enormous slave-trade carried on (with the exception of Sierra Leone) at all those places; and with complaints, not only in most cases of the total indifference of the local foreign authorities to the representations made to them, *but of the countenance actually afforded to those engaged in the trade, in direct defiance of treaties and of laws.* It would now be useless to give extracts in support of this assertion at any length; a reference to the slave-trade papers annually laid before Parliament for nearly twenty years past, will be abundantly sufficient. Two or three extracts, however, are given as specimens of the reports alluded to, and first from those at SIERRA LEONE.

The British Commissioners report, under the date of January 6, 1834:—

"With reference to the enclosed return, we have to draw your Lordship's notice, to

the number of Spanish vessels which have been condemned for slaving in the past year, and which, being the average number that have been condemned here in former years, would show that there has been, under the flag of Spain, no diminution in that traffic. Seven vessels under the Spanish flag, were three months ago, trading for slaves in one river alone,—that of Calabar; and twenty-two ships, almost all of the same nation, were boarded about the same period, by Lieutenant Josiah Thompson; then in command of his Majesty's sloop 'Trinculo,' now commanding his Majesty's brig 'Brisk,' some of which had their water and their fuel in, and their platforms laid for the reception of slaves.

"The Portuguese slave vessels, the 'Rosa,' 'Hebe,' and 'Virtude,' that have, within the last three years, been condemned here for slaving, were all bound for Cuba, into which island, during late years, we believe, French vessels imported great numbers of slaves from Africa. We have, however, pleasure in acquainting your Lordship, that we have been informed, that the flag of France has not been met with lately on this coast in connexion with slaving, the treaty between France and Great Britain having apparently put an end thereto. It has, however, always been found, that when by effectual remedies applied, the slave-trade has been suppressed under one flag, it rears its head under another. A signal proof of the truth of this remark is now afforded by Portugal, the first nation that entered into a treaty with Great Britain for the repression of that traffic.

"The traffic in slaves under the Portuguese flag, which, for years past, has been almost unheard of, appears now to be carried on to as great an extent as it was before Brazil ceased to belong to Portugal.

"We have been informed, that thirty Portuguese vessels were, a short time past, engaged in slaving in the Bights of Benin and Biafra, and the rivers emptying themselves therein; and we are of opinion, that the destination of those vessels would be to the Island of Cuba. To the flag of Portugal has thus been transferred the carrying of slaves, which had been so successful under that of France."

2nd January, 1836.

"There is nothing in the experience of the past year, to show, that the slave-trade of Portugal or of Spain has in any degree diminished. With regard to the former, we have elsewhere called the attention of your Lordship to the fact, that all the Portuguese vessels which have been captured during the year 1835, fully laden with

laves, were fitted out at Prince's Island, and received their papers and clearances from the provisional government of that settlement. But mal-practices of this nature, on the part of her colonial governments, have so long been tacitly permitted, or wholly disregarded by Portugal, that we entertain little hope of any further representations on the subject being effectual."

Extract from an American paper, 1st Nov. 1836:—

A recent traveller asserts that "the slave-trade is in full operation on the coast of Africa. But a few weeks ago, forty-five Spanish vessels to the southward, and twenty-five to the northward of the line, were engaged in this infernal traffic. We regret to learn, that these are chiefly American built, and such swift sailors as almost to defy capture. It seems also, that the Portuguese to the southward of the line are also extensively engaged in the business, and by the effect of a late treaty with

England, pursue the business with impunity."

Abstract of Return of Slave Ships condemned in the Mixed Commission Court at Sierra Leone, from 1st January, 1827, to 1st January, 1835:—

Vessels.	Slaves.	Emancipated.
Spanish 60	16,964	14,778
Portuguese 38	5,896	5,384
Netherlands 8	1,573	1,381
Brazilian 36	7,596	6,143
142	32,029	27,686
Died before emancipation		3,707
Landed at other places than Sierra Leone, in consequence of their bad state, most of whom probably died		636
		32,029

A TOUCHING INCIDENT.

(Extracted from the *Meadville Statesman*.)

MR. EDITOR:—

THE following extract from a letter written by a young man of this village to his friend, is a graphic description of a slave scene very common in the South.

"A few miles below Wheeling, on the side of the Ohio river, a signal was made to stop for passengers. We did so; and it proved to be a negro driver, with ten or a dozen slaves, each one with his hand chained to that of his fellow. The driver informed the captain, that a few miles below he had forty or fifty more men, women, and children, that he wished to take on board. We arrived at the place about eleven o'clock, P. M. The driver, captain, and two or three others, left the boat, and in an hour returned with the negroes; and the scene that followed, I am utterly unable to describe.

"Here in this small group, the dearest ties of earth, those ties which make this wretched life even tolerable, were severed for ever. Mothers and sisters, parents and children, wives and husbands, were here to part, to meet no more on earth. And, to add to the gloom of this parting scene, it was night, no house near, large weeping willows overhung the bank, underneath which the group were gathered, and seemed, in silence to weep over the miseries of man. Nothing could be heard save the howling of the wind, the splash of the waves as they broke upon the shore, mingled with the lamentation of despair! The moon, that an hour before had shone forth with all her wonted loveliness, now veiled her face behind a lowering cloud, and all nature seemed to sympathize with the scene.

"Among the number that composed the group, I discovered two, whose grief appeared inconsolable: their tear-drops were indeed big with sorrow. The woman I should judge to be about twenty, the man (her husband) about twenty-five years of age: both were nearly white, could read well, looked intelligent, and I learned were professors of religion. She had an infant at her breast. He was to go; she to remain. I was so near them, that I could hear their parting words.

" 'Oh,' said she, 'Tom, we cannot part! You must not leave me.'

" 'My girl,' replied he, 'we must part; there is no hope for us.'

" 'Well, if we must, we must,' said she. 'But here, Tom,'—taking a small Bible from her bosom,—'here is my Bible; take it, and give me yours; and we will keep them as remembrances: they will ever remind us of each other, and of that HEAVEN where we shall again be united.'

"All were now on board, except this man; he stood with one foot on the plank, the other upon the shore, and she hung around his neck. His master ran out of the vessel in a rage, seized him by the throat, tore them asunder, and pushed him into the boat. She shrieked, fainted, and fell upon the beach: he tore his hair, and beat his breast, in the wildest paroxysm of despair. The boat was moved; and, amidst the howling of wind, the splash of the wheels, and torrents of rain, were heard the groans and lamentations of the party on board answered by those on shore. The scene closed; but never by me to be forgotten. Had I possessed, at that moment, the whole earth, I would have freely given all to have restored those unhappy slaves to each other's arms."

UNITED STATES CONGRESS.

Scene in the House of Representatives, on the Presentation of a Ladies' Petition for the abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade, at the Seat of Government.

Mr. John Quincy Adams, ex-President of the United States, said he would have the honour of presenting to the house the petition of 228 women, the wives and daughters of his immediate constituents; and as a part of the speech which he intended to make, he would take the liberty of reading the petition. It was not long, and would not consume much time.

Mr. Glascock objected to the reception of the petition.

Mr. A. proceeded to read that the petitioners, inhabitants of South Weymouth, in the State of Massachusetts, impressed with "the sinfulness of slavery, and keenly aggrieved by its existence in a part of our country over which Congress.—

Mr. Pinckney rose to a question of order. Had the gentleman from Massachusetts a right, under the rule, to read the petition?

The Speaker said the gentleman from Massachusetts had a right to make a statement of the contents of the petition.

Mr. Pinckney desired the decision of the Speaker as to whether a gentleman had a right to read a petition.

Mr. Adams said he was reading the petition as a part of his speech, and he took this to be one of the privileges of a member of the house. It was a privilege which he would exercise till he should be deprived of it by some positive act.

The Speaker repeated that the gentleman from Massachusetts had a right to make a brief statement of the contents of the petition. It was not for the Speaker to decide whether that brief statement should be made in the gentleman's own language, or whether he should look over the petition, and take his statement from that.

Mr. Adams, at the time my friend from South Carolina——

The Speaker said the gentleman must proceed to state the contents of the petition.

Mr. Adams.—I am doing so, sir.

The Speaker.—Not in the opinion of the chair.

Mr. Adams.—I was at this point of the petition.—“Keenly aggrieved by its existence in a part of our country over which Congress possesses exclusive jurisdiction in all cases whatever.”——

Loud cries of “Order, order.”

Mr. A. proceeded.

“Do most earnestly petition your honourable body”——

Mr. Chambers of Kentucky rose to a point of order.

Mr. A. proceeded.

“Immediately to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia,”——

Mr. Chambers reiterated his call to order, and the Speaker told Mr. Adams to take his seat.

Mr. A. proceeded, (with great rapidity of enunciation, and in a very loud tone of voice.)

“And to declare any human being free, who sets foot upon its soil.”

Mr. Chambers insisted on his point of order, and the Speaker again, with great earnestness of manner, told the gentleman from Massachusetts to take his seat.

Whereupon Mr. A. yielded the floor.

[The confusion in the Hall at this time was so great that scarcely a word could be heard by the reporters.]

The Speaker presented, in writing, the substance of his decision, that it was not in order for a member to read the whole petition if objected to, but that he had only the right to make a “brief statement of the contents thereof.”

Mr. Adams said he proposed to withdraw his appeal, in order to save the time of the House, if the gentleman from Kentucky would permit him to complete his “brief statements of the contents” of the petition. It was indeed so brief, that to read the petition in its own language was the briefest statement that could be made.

Mr. A. then read from the petition, that the petitioners “respectfully announced their intention to present the same petition yearly before this honorable body, that it might at least be a memorial in the holy cause of human freedom, that they had done what they could.”

These words were read amidst tumultuous cries for order from every part of the House. And order having at length been restored,

Mr. Adams withdrew his appeal.

[The district of Columbia contains a population of between 7000 and 8000 slaves, and is, besides, a great depot for slaves. Packets, fitted up as slave-ships, are advertised to sail regularly from the port of Alexandria, in the district of Columbia, to New Orleans, the great slave-market for Louisiana.]

TESTIMONY OF THE CHURCH IN AMERICA.

The Connecticut Baptist Association, at its meeting at Norwich, June 8, passed the following—

Resolved, That all efforts to awaken the church of Christ upon the subject of slavery, should be made in the spirit of benevolence, with entire dependence on the great Disposer of events, and with fervent prayer to him that slavery may be brought to a speedy and peaceable termination.

Resolved, That those laws and usages which forbid the teaching of the slave to read; which obstruct assemblies among them for the worship of God; which deny to them the sanction of marriage, and which allow of the forcible separation of parents and children, husbands and wives, are totally inconsistent with the principles of benevolence and the spirit of Christianity.

—
The Stonington Union Baptist Association, at its meeting at Milltown (North Stonington) Connecticut, appointed a committee on the subject of slavery, who submitted the following report, which was adopted:

Your committee on the subject of slavery would respectfully submit the following report:—

As it regards the *sin* of slavery, there can be no difference of opinion among the members of this body. In its *theory* it is directly opposed to every principle of the gospel, while in its *practice*, it presents to the philanthropist and the Christian the revolting picture of the destruction of soul and body in time and in eternity. No less than *ten thousand* of our own Baptist brethren are groaning under its iron hearted oppression, while many of our own countrymen are denied the word of God, and the most essential means of grace, and individually appealing to us, in the pathetic language of Scripture, "No man careth for my soul." God has heard the voice of our brother's blood, crying from the ground, and has inquired of us, "Where is thy brother?" We will not insult the Almighty with the reply of the guilty Cain, "Am I my brother's keeper?" We ought rather to acknowledge before God, "We are verily guilty concerning our brother!" We are loudly called upon for these reasons to express our sentiments on this subject.

1. The stand taken by Christians at the South, in attempting to justify their guilty course by the word of God, would make us partakers of their sins were we to remain silent. Duty calls upon us to record our

names against this perversion of the Holy Scriptures.

2. We are compelled to this course by our duty to the slave. The Bible requires us to "consider those that are in bonds as being bound with them." While every principle of humanity, as well as religion, calls upon us to "break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free." We cannot be held guiltless till we have done all we can consistently do for the emancipation of the slave.

3. Our own personal liberty compels us to this course.

The question has assumed an exceedingly important bearing. It no longer is whether southern slavery shall continue as it has done, but whether we will surrender the liberty of speech, and of the press, and of conscience, to perpetuate it? Whether the mob and southern slave-holders shall be our masters, our dictators, in matters of faith and practice? We cannot be safe till this question has received its final answer at our hands. Again, we cannot be safe while this national sin, this sin of the church, is calling to heaven for vengeance. If Jefferson said, "I tremble for my country, when I remember that God is just," much more does it become us as professed Christians, to tremble before a God of justice till we have cleared our garments of the blood of the slave. Already, in the language of Scripture, "the blood is up to the horses' bridles." Every breeze is wafting to heaven the story of wrong and oppression; while the angel of mercy is weeping over the melancholy picture, and divine justice, which has so long held back the deserved blow, is rising up to avenge the wrongs of the slave; and woe to them whose door-posts are not sprinkled with atoning blood. Silence will not insure our safety, while this volcano is gathering the elements of destruction, kindling up its internal fires, and fearfully augmenting our danger with every hour's delay.

We speak the language of all the civilized world, and of the church, yea, more, of Almighty God, when we say, *slavery must cease*. Its doom is sealed. We are not particularly solicitous about the *manner* of its abolition. We are willing the South should choose how it shall be abolished, while they understand it must be done. We are willing to consult the safety and interest of the master, and the interest of the slave, in all the means we employ for the abolition of slavery.

In view of the above facts, your committee would recommend the following resolutions :

Resolved, That we consider the crisis in the affairs of our nation and of our church, caused by the slavery question, to be one of fearful moment to every patriot and every Christian.

Resolved, That we recommend to the churches to oppose the sin of slavery with the unyielding determination it shall cease as soon as is practicable ; and yet to do this with all the Christian forbearance and devout prayer which the importance of the question demands.

BRADLEY MINER, *Chairman.*

WHAT I HAVE SEEN.

WATCHMAN of Zion ! say, where hast thou been
Wandering afar in this dark world of sin ?
Thy voice is yet lifted to trumpet abroad
The wrongs of the captive—the mandate of God.

Say, what hast thou seen on thy perilous path ?
Hast thou met with the foe, in the pride of his wrath ?
Say, why dost thou wear on thy spirit this gloom,
Has virtue no welcome in Freedom's own home !

I have been 'neath the bland and bright Southern sky,
But its breezes bore to me the captive's quick sigh ;
I have press'd its soft carpet of flowering green,
But wept as I look'd on the loveliest scene.

For I saw the poor slave as he bow'd to his toil,
To yield, in his shackles, th' oppressor's rich spoil ;
And methought, as I pass'd him, his spirit awoke,
And the look that he gave me imploringly spoke.

I have been in his hut, at the hour of rest,
His wife by his side, and their babe on her breast,
But transient the bliss that a sweet home could yield,
Their love had no tenure—their pleasures no shield.

And I saw these doom'd objects in market enroll'd,
The image of God, in the slave, bought and sold ;
And I heard the sad groan, the rent bosom's pain,
The curse of the market and clank of the chain.

And that father's deep murmurs grew 'vengefully loud,
And the mother's tears fell, like rain from the cloud,
And conscious of misery, their babe drew its breath,
Their parting strife seem'd as the struggles of death.

Oh ! that sound smote my ear like the wail of the lost,
And I turned to the temple of God's chosen host !
But its song rose like mock'ry on misery's ear,
For no voice broke the spell of the captive's despair.

I have left the drear land of the down-trodden slave,
For what eye there will pity, what arm can save ?
There is hope where the curse has not wither'd the soul,
And oppression shall die 'neath its fearless control.

Slavery in America.

No. XI.—MAY, 1837.

INAUGURAL SPEECH OF THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT.

SINCE the publication of our last number, the New York papers have furnished us with the Ex-president's valedictory address to the legislature of the United States; the interest of which is heightened from its being the last public act of a man who for many years has acted so conspicuous a part on the stormy element of political life. We are also furnished with the inaugural speech of the New President, Mr. Van Buren, which may be interpreted as a kind of official programme for the whole term of his political ascendancy. We see pretty clearly in this address what we are to expect, and what we are not to expect, from him, so far as his personal or public influence may guide the course of events. With his sentiments on the general matters of political discussion which now agitate that portion of the world, we have nothing to do. On these points some of the papers call him the "unpledged President," free to act just as the tide of public feeling may hereafter set in. But there is one matter in which he is not "unpledged;" and that is the only one in which we feel any peculiar interest. He is *the abettor of slavery—the determined foe to abolitionism, both in principle and practice*; and from him neither the slave nor his advocate have any thing to expect, except it be, malice in all its moods, and opposition in all its inveteracy.

The following is that part of the address which relates to the social condition of the States, which, though it has already appeared in various public channels, may not have been noticed by all our readers; upon which we shall offer a few concluding remarks:—

"The last, perhaps the greatest, of the prominent sources of discord and disaster supposed to lurk in our political condition, was the institution of domestic slavery. ~~Our forefathers~~ were deeply impressed with the delicacy of this

subject, and they treated it with a forbearance so evidently wise, that, in spite of every sinister foreboding, it never, *until the present period*, disturbed the tranquillity of our common country. Such a result is sufficient evidence of the justice and the patriotism of their course ; it is evidence not to be mistaken, that an adherence to it can prevent all embarrassment from this as well as from every other anticipated cause of difficulty or danger. Have not recent events made it obvious to the slightest reflection, that the least deviation from this spirit of forbearance is injurious to every interest, that of *humanity included* ? Amidst the violence of existing passions, this generous and *fraternal feeling* has been sometimes disregarded ; and, standing as I now do before my countrymen in this high place of honor and of trust, I cannot refrain from anxiously invoking my fellow-citizens never to be deaf to its dictates. Perceiving, before my election, the deep interest this subject was beginning to excite, I believed it a solemn duty fully to make known my sentiments in regard to it ; and now, when every motive for misrepresentation has passed away, I trust that will be candidly weighed and understood. At least they will be my standard of conduct in the path before me. I then declared that, if the desire of those of my countrymen who were favorable to my election was gratified, ‘ I must go into the Presidential Chair *the inflexible and uncompromising opponent of every attempt, on the part of Congress, to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia, against the wishes of the slave-holding States* ; and, also, with *a determination equally decided, to resist the slightest interference with it in the States where it exists.*’ I submitted also to my fellow-citizens, with fulness and frankness, the reasons which led me to this determination. The result authorizes me to believe that they have been approved, and are confided in, by a majority of the people of the United States, including those whom they most immediately affect. It now only remains to add, that NO BILL CONFLICTING WITH THESE VIEWS CAN EVER RECEIVE MY CONSTITUTIONAL SANCTION.

These opinions have been adopted in the firm belief, that they are in accordance with the *spirit that actuated the venerated fathers of the republic*, and that succeeding experience has proved them to be humane, patriotic, expedient, honorable, and just. If the agitation of this subject was intended to reach the stability of our institutions, enough has occurred to show that it has signally failed ; and that in this, as in every other instance, the apprehensions of the timid, and the hopes of the wicked for the destruction of our Government, are again destined to be disappointed. Here and there, indeed, scenes of dangerous excitement have occurred ; terrifying instances of local violence have been witnessed ; and *a reckless disregard of the consequences of their conduct has exposed individuals to popular indignation* ; but neither masses of the people, nor sections of the country, have been swerved from their *devotion to the bond of union*, and the principles it has made sacred. It will ever be thus. Such attempts at dangerous agitation may periodically return, but with each the object will be better understood. That predominating affection for our political system which prevails throughout our territorial limits ; the calm and enlightened judgment which ultimately governs our people as one vast body ; will always be at hand to resist and control every effort, foreign or domestic, which aims, or would lead, to overthrow our institutions.”

Now, whatever else we may think of this speech, we must call it open and honest. There is no mistake about the matter. We know what

Martin Van Buren is, and where he is. And, as he might do the abolition cause infinitely more damage by disguised friendship than by open hostility, the friends to equal rights will expend no effort in courting his aid, and suffer no mortification in being denied it. The course is all clear before them; having nothing to anticipate from the legislature, their whole energies will be expended in turning the current of public feeling in a right direction; nothing daunted, and nothing doubting, but that, when this is fairly set in, legislators, like that accommodating apparatus which we attach to the top of our churches, will very soon find which way the wind sets.

We confess, however, that we were not prepared for this impious avowal. From private sources, we had reason to expect a different line of conduct. When canvassing among the abolitionists, we understand, he had so adroitly managed to conceal his sentiments, as to allay all apprehension that he was at heart an enemy to their cause; and that his apparent advocacy of slavery was only adopted as an expedient necessary to secure his election. But now, all delicacy is done away with; he comes out the bold and uncompromising advocate of things as they are; the lauder of all the institutions of his country, slavery not excepted; boasting that "the rights of the humblest individuals shall be respected," while one-sixth part of the population have no rights at all; and the other five parts no liberty to present a petition on their behalf. Is this America, or is it Algiers? Is it true, that from our cradle upwards we have been told that America is the land of liberty?

We must, nevertheless, confess ourselves gratified at this open and candid avowal on another ground. The acts of its government give the stamp to the character of the people. We are now at no loss in what category to place the government of the United States. It is a *SLAVE-STATE!* *Semi-tyrants—semi-slaves!* The official declaration of its President has unequivocally stamped the national character. The Americans are not slave-holders from necessity, but from choice. It is not an accident in their institutions, not an incubus which they would willingly be rid of, not a curse entailed upon them from the former governors of their country; but it is what they relish, what they cling to, what they obstinately defend. The President has thrown his official egis over the whole system; and, at such a moment as this, he would not have jarred the harmony by the expression of a sentiment opposed to public feeling; or put into jeopardy that popularity which his elevation had just secured to him.

The true character of a people, like that of an individual, is more correctly ascertained by what is the aspect and bearing of their general acts, than by any one solitary instance of legislation. And, with this commonplace sentiment in the mind, let any one look at the tendency of all the recent acts of the American Congress. Have they not had an aspect of

deeper degradation and cruelty towards the hapless beings that lie crouching beneath their iron sway? Their one apparent aim is to render their property in human flesh more valuable and more secure; and to effect this, they break the spirit of the slave by oppression; they degrade and insult those whom they cannot oppress; they foment and increase the prejudice against the whole race; they stop up all the avenues to his education and improvement; they expatriate, either by force or by fraud, those who have broken through these impediments, and who have rendered themselves dangerous by holding the power which knowledge has put into their hands. If there had been the least wish to rid the States of this abomination, the aspect of their legislative acts would have looked exactly in the opposite direction. Their first object would have been to prevent the increase of the evil; their ports would have been shut against all slave-ships; they would have co-operated with Britain in the destruction of the African trade; they would have laid a train first for ameliorating, and then gradually annihilating the entire system. But, instead of any tendency towards this, what by-stander does not see that God has given them up to a spirit of infatuation, the certain presage of destruction? They are yet preserved, and the elements may discover but very faint emblems of a gathering storm; for "the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full." But those who stand at a distance, and in a more elevated and independent situation, cannot help being forcibly struck with the analogy of the American people at the present time, and that of the Israelites in the days of Rehoboam; who "forsook the counsel of the old men, and spake after the counsel of the young men, who were grown up with him, My father made your yoke heavy, but I will add to your yoke; my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions." The American people, if they are wise, will consult the sequel of this history. If they wish not to hear the cry, "Every man to your tents, O Israel!" they will retrace their steps, and recollect, "that righteousness exalteth a nation; but that sin is the destruction of any people."

The recent demonstration will also enlighten us on another subject: it will enable us rightly to estimate the canting hypocrisy of those Americans, the Elliot Cressons, and the Breckenridges, who come over into this country, and tell us, that their countrymen detest slavery as much as we do; and would fain make us believe, that if we would but let them alone, they would eventually, but gradually, abolish the whole system. Can there be any truth in these tales? Is there one atom of demonstration in any of the acts of the general legislature, that such is the goal at which they are aiming? Will not the recent declaration of the President disabuse the judgment of the most credulous, that such is the course, however circuitous, they are desirous of pursuing? And, will it not have the effect of compelling every reflecting citizen, unless he is prepared through thick and thin to defend the system, to abandon the legislature

to its own infatuation, and to join the ranks of those who, by a more direct, a more righteous, and a more feasible procedure, are aiming to rid their country of this foul stain upon its character, this canker-worm at the root of its institutions, this element of combustion that threatens its entire overthrow.

We have not the least fear that this straw in the path will hinder, for a moment, the career of that formidable and increasing band of worthies who are pledged to the destruction of this abomination in their beloved country. They are not the men to flinch at a President's frown, nor to desert a cause because men high in influence and office cast a malicious sneer upon it. All this will rather stimulate than retard; and we were, therefore, not at all surprised, that the very paper which contains the President's Speech, should also contain a highly nervous and animated appeal, evidently from a man goaded on to greater energy by the opposition thrown in his path. The following remarks are copied from the *Emancipator*, of the 9th of March, five days after the Address was delivered.

"The New President has delivered his Inaugural Address, and taken on him the oath and the responsibilities of office. So much of the Address as relates to slavery, a large portion of the whole, will be found in another column. We have not time or space to say all we could wish in relation to it; but we confess we did not expect the avowal of such sentiments and such determinations, by one who is, or rather was, the son of freedom, the advocate of democratic principles and equal rights, and once at least the friend of the colored man; and, least of all, did we expect this speech at such a time, and on such an occasion—in an Inaugural Address. But the deed is done. The devil is unmasked. In the face of heaven and earth, the President of these United States stands forth, avowedly, the enemy of freedom, the opponent of equal rights, the defender of slavery, the slanderer of freedom's friends, and the instigator and patron of mobs. About to assume the responsibilities of the highest office in the gift of a professedly free people, he steps forth, with tyrant heart, and face of brass, and lips of slander, and declares the effort to give freedom to the enslaved, "injurious to every interest, that of *humanity* included," stigmatizes it as "dangerous agitation," the creature of sinister design, whose "object will be better understood" from time to time; and as opposed to the "spirit that actuated the venerable fathers of the republic;" speaks of "scenes of dangerous excitement," "terrifying instances of local violence" and "popular indignation," wreaking its vengeance on the heads of the friends of freedom, and resolves the whole into "a reckless disregard of the consequences of their conduct" on their part; nay, talks of the resistance with which they have been met, as the creature of "devotion to the bond of union," a "pre-

dominating affection for our political system," a "calm and enlightened judgment" of the people, thus inviting and invoking outrage and violence on their heads anew; and then, to put the climax on his guilt and infamy, swears himself on the altar of slavery, avowing most solemnly, that he will give his "constitutional sanction" to no bill abolishing slavery, even within the limits of federal jurisdiction, so long as it is "against the wishes of the slave-holding States;" but, recreant to every principle of liberty, justice, and humanity, will, on all occasions, and at all hazards, and in the face of a majority even, GO WITH THE SOUTH.

"Were these the sentiments, and declarations and determination of a Calhoun, or a Mc Duffie, men born and bred in the atmosphere of slavery, and with the habits of the slave-holder, they would be in character; and, however we might detest and cry out against the principles, we should at least respect the men for honesty in their avowal of them, as well as cease to regard that avowal with surprise. But as it is, we can neither respect the man nor his principles. So far from it, his conduct in this matter is an utter denial and renunciation of his professed principles, as the friend of equal rights and the advocate of democracy, and it ought, and we are no prophet, or it will cover him with infamy, and make him a stench in the nostrils of every honest republican. There is neither honesty, nor republicanism, nor manhood in the position he has taken. It is an unblushing declaration, that in a free republic even, the majority shall not rule, and that the will of the people shall not be law. It is USURPATION and TYRANNY.

"Very well, if Martin Van Buren can afford thus to slander the friends of liberty and equal rights, and invoke on them the fury of the mob, and lick the dust and proclaim himself the tool of tyrants, the defender of slavery, and swear himself for ever upon her altar,—so be it. And if, in consequence, the spirit of slavery grows more rampant in every part of the land, louder and more overbearing in its demands at the South and the North, more violent and blood-thirsty in its inflictions on the bond and the free, trampling all law and all right and all restraint under foot, and breaking forth on the right hand and on the left in acts of violence and blood,—so be it. We are glad to know the worst—to see the flag nailed to the mast. We shall not shrink from the conflict. On the contrary, most cheerfully and resolutely shall we breast us to the onset anew. We tell the President, that if he expects to put the question of abolition at rest, and secure to himself a quiet administration, by the position now taken, he, for once at least, has reckoned without his host. At the Presidential nod, let the influence and the machinery of party be turned upon us, and under the broad shield of Presidential sanction, let "popular indignation," at the bidding of hireling presses, pour the vials of its wrath upon us, and outrage follow outrage, and tumult follow tumult, and violence follow violence, until the land rocks with commo-

tion, and runs down with blood—we shall meet it. We have sworn ourselves upon the altar of freedom; and under freedom's God, come what may, **WE SHALL MEET IT.** Not an inch shall we yield, not an effort relax, not an agent recall, not a publication suppress. On the contrary, we shall multiply our presses and our agents, increase our efforts fifty, yea, an hundred fold, and move onward in our struggle for freedom, if need be, to the death."

These are the right men to urge forward a good work; and, when engaged in a cause that bears so high upon both the social well-being, and the eternal welfare of a large portion of their suffering fellows; a cause which is sustained by an enlightened conscience, and the sympathies of a benevolent heart—a cause so congenial with the spirit of the gospel, and so necessary to its ultimate triumphs, they cannot relax—they must succeed. The cause is chained to Omnipotence. The power that is pledged to the triumphs of the gospel is enlisted on its behalf. Go forward, ye men of God! ye friends of the friendless, the degraded, the oppressed! The eyes of God, of angels, and of all civilized nations, are upon you. They know the ardour of the contest; the difficulties and dangers that await you; and will watch your movements with untiring anxiety, until ye shall have broken the fetters from every slave in your land; and then unite with us in our endeavours to chase this demon from every class and every tribe of the human family.

AMERICAN TEMPERANCE SOCIETIES.

"One good turn deserves another."

MR. E. C. Delavan, the Secretary of the New York Temperance Society, communicated to Mr. Buckingham, M. P. for Sheffield, a resolution of the Temperance Societies in America, to prepare a short pamphlet containing the most material facts and arguments in support of the Temperance Reformation which has produced such beneficial effects on the health and morals of the population in that country, and to print a sufficient number of the pamphlet to furnish a copy to every householder in England, Scotland, and Ireland. It was calculated that this would require four millions of copies, and would cost, in America, about 25,000 dollars, or £5,000 sterling. This sum the American societies undertook to raise, provided the Chancellor of the Exchequer in England could be prevailed upon to admit the pamphlets free of duty, as they were for gratuitous distribution, and provided the Temperance Societies of England could be induced to organize means for their distribution after their arrival in this country. Mr. Buckingham, who was deputed by the American Societies to open a negotiation with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, appeared to have succeeded in his object, as the Chancellor, in a letter to Mr. Buckingham, liberally consented to the introduction of the pamphlets free of duty; and the Temperance Socie-

ties in England, Scotland, and Ireland, of whom there are now nearly a thousand, were proceeding to organize means of distributing the four millions of American pamphlets, by giving one, free of cost, to every householder in the kingdom. Scarcely, however, had this gratifying intelligence been sent off to America, before a second letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer to Mr. Buckingham, expressed his deep regret that the Lords of the Treasury, with whom the confirmation of the Chancellor's decision rested, did not feel themselves justified in acceding to his recommendation, on the ground of such a proceeding forming a most inconvenient precedent. This is to be deeply regretted; for while the government of Canada, impressed with the beneficial consequences of their circulation, admit the temperance publications from the United States free of duty—and while in England the government admit all the most costly foreign works presented to the British Museum free of duty—the same privilege is here denied to one of the most munificent, most benevolent, and most disinterested gifts ever proffered by the philanthropists of one nation to the whole population of another.

On this magnificent proposal, we beg leave to offer a remark. The religious community of Britain are not accustomed to ask favours of government, with a view to facilitate their Christian and benevolent endeavours; and it is a pity so noble a purpose should be frustrated by so trifling an impediment. If the Temperance Societies of America choose to carry their object into effect, there is no fear but funds will soon be raised here to pay the duty upon the proposed publication, immediately on its arrival; and we can assure them that ample facilities shall be afforded for their universal dispersion. And in return for so noble a donation, we engage to prepare a pamphlet on *the inconsistency and sinfulness of slavery in a professedly Christian country*, and to furnish them with a sufficient supply, provided that on their part they will make satisfactory arrangements to "furnish a copy to every householder" in the States where slavery prevails. This we consider nothing but a friendly interchange of kind offices; and the moment we are satisfied that the above arrangements are made, the pamphlet shall be printed and forwarded without delay. We engage, moreover, on the part of our countrymen, that Lynch-law shall not be executed upon a single agent employed in dispersing these Temperance pamphlets; but that they shall be welcomed in every village and hamlet of the kingdom as benefactors, and entitled, not only to courtesy, but gratitude; and a similar friendly reception will be expected from every agent employed in distributing our publication among the American states.

FOREIGN SLAVE TRADE.

No. III.

WE continue the papers on this subject for two purposes ; that our readers may be in possession of a condensed view of the present state of the Slave Trade in the different parts of the world ; and to show the untiring anxiety of the friends of the Negro in Britain to open negotiations between our government and other powers for its suppression. At the conclusion of this hasty review, we may offer such reflections as necessarily suggest themselves on this appalling subject.

BRAZIL.

The Conventions and Treaties entered into with Portugal during the period of her union with Brazil, were equally applicable to, and equally binding on, both countries, as well during their union, as subsequent to their separation ; but shortly after that event, the Emperor of Brazil entered into a treaty with this country, by which it was stipulated, that at the expiration of three years from the exchange of the ratification of the treaty (March 1827), "it shall not be lawful for the subjects of the Emperor of Brazil to be concerned in the carrying on of the African slave-trade under any pretext or in any manner whatsoever, and the carrying on of such trade after that period by any person subject to His Imperial Majesty, shall be deemed and treated as a pirate."

In 1831, a decree passed the Legislative Assembly, and received the sanction of the Regency, imposing further and more rigid restrictions for the prevention of the importation of slaves into the ports of Brazil, by the 1st article of which it is declared, that "All slaves entering the territory on the ports of Brazil, coming from abroad, are free," except 1st. slaves enrolled in the service of vessels belonging to countries where slavery is allowed ; and 2ndly, those which may have escaped from such vessel or territory, who are to be delivered up to their masters.

Notwithstanding the favourable state of the treaties and laws of Brazil relating to the slave-trade, Lord Palmerston, in his despatch to our minister at Brazil, dated 7th of May, 1833, says—"The Brazilian government must be aware, that all the efforts which their wise and beneficent intentions upon this subject have given rise to, have hitherto failed, under the existing law, to put an end to the illegal traffic of Brazil in slaves from Africa, and it must be obvious therefore, that the only mode of meeting the difficulty is, to add some more effectual stipulation to the treaty now in force upon the subject."

The negotiation thus commenced was for a time unsuccessful. Our ambassador, in a despatch to Lord Palmerston dated 15th of October, 1834, makes the following statement: "My letter was officially communicated to the Assembly, and read to them by the minister, Aureliano, at the same time that he recommended to their adoption some other measures connected with the more effectual suppression of the slave-trade. But the minister, and all his communications, were, unfortunately upon this occasion, equally ill-received ; and the reading of my letter served only to call forth a *violent attack upon the government, for*

listening to foreign dictation, and upon Great Britain for presuming to give advice to Brazil.'

The British government however, was not at all disheartened by this unfavourable report, and our ambassador was instructed to renew his efforts to obtain the consent of the Brazilian government to additional articles similar to those concluded with France and the Netherlands ; and on the 25th of March, 1835, Mr. Fox informed the Duke of Wellington, that he had every reasonable prospect of being able to carry the wishes of His Majesty's government completely into effect. He observes :—"The terror that is spreading far and wide through Brazil since the late insurrection of the blacks at Bahia, has rendered the present moment favorable for renewing to this government any proposal for improving and strengthening the anti-slave trade legislation. The eyes of most men are beginning to be opened, if not to the infamy of slave dealing, at least to the enormous danger of allowing fresh multitudes of Africans, under any condition, to be poured daily into the country."*

On the 4th of August, Mr. Fox, in his despatch to Lord Palmerston, says,—*"The three additional articles supplementary to the Slave Trade convention between Great Britain and Brazil of the 23rd of November, 1836, were signed on the 27th ultimo ;"* and adds, that they were referred to the Chamber of Deputies, who had not then reported upon them. But on the 28th of October, he says—"I am very sorry to say, that the session of the Legislative Chambers of Brazil has been closed without their sanction being obtained to the additional articles for the more effectual suppression of the slave trade, which were signed, on the 27th July last, by Senhor Manoel Alves Branco, and myself, as the plenipotentiaries respectively of His Majesty, and of the Emperor of Brazil. The sanction of the Assembly has not been refused, but the session has been closed without the matter being brought on for discussion."*

NETHERLANDS.

On the 15th of June, 1814, the government of Holland issued a decree, by which its subjects are prohibited from trading in slaves ; and the governors of the Dutch forts on the coast of Africa are commanded to suffer no slave trade to be carried on by the ships of any nation, and to seize all Dutch ships that may contravene this decree. And on the 13th of August, 1814, the King of the Netherlands entered into a convention with his Britannic Majesty for the suppression of the trade : but notwithstanding this treaty, and the decree above alluded to, a considerable slave trade was carried on on the African coast by Dutch subjects ; and there were strong reasons for believing, that the Dutch governors on the coast, instead of obeying the orders they had received from their government, connived at this traffic. Representations were thereupon made to the Dutch government, and subsequently a treaty was entered into between the two governments for its more effectual suppression. By this treaty, which was signed at the Hague, on the 4th of May, 1818, the mutual right of search was agreed to, and mixed courts of justice were established for adjudicating vessels captured under the treaty ; and on the 20th of November following, the Dutch government passed a law for giving effect to this treaty.

Still, the treaties and abolition laws of the Netherlands were violated, and large importations of slaves into Surinam were even openly permitted by the local authorities. Our government again remonstrated, with a view to put a

* Parliamentary Papers, Class B. 1835, p. 77.

stop to this breach of treaties ; and, in consequence, the King of the Netherlands issued a decree on the 21st of April, 1821, which, extraordinary as it may appear, in fact tended to open the ports of that colony still more widely for their admission. A long negotiation ensued between our government and that of the Netherlands, but they were attended by the usual fate of our negotiations on this subject, and thousands of new negroes still continued to be imported into Surinam, notwithstanding the mixed commission court was established in that colony.

To remedy the deficiencies of the treaty of May, 1818, three additional and explanatory articles were agreed upon at Brussels, in the months of December, 1822, and January, 1823. These articles contain the agreement relative to the seizure of vessels having had slaves on board, and that relative to equipment, together with some additional regulations.

DENMARK.

The King of Denmark, by an edict, dated Copenhagen, so early as the 16th of March, 1792, decreed, that the slave trade carried on by his subjects should "with the beginning of the year 1803, cease on the African coasts and elsewhere out of the West Indies."

By an article in the treaty of Kiel, of the 14th of January, 1814, the King of Denmark engages to prohibit all his subjects in the most effectual manner, and by the most solemn laws, from taking any share in that traffic, although it appears that slavers touch at the Island of St. Thomas, where some of the resident merchants have had an interest in their speculations. The Danish government has promised to repress this practice, but throws the blame of it on those governments, which still tacitly sanction this infamous traffic.

The King of Denmark has acceded to the Conventions recently concluded between England and France for the suppression of the slave trade, and a treaty to this effect between these three powers was accordingly signed on the 27th of July, 1834.

SWEDEN.

The King of Sweden issued a royal proclamation, bearing the same date with the Edict of the King of Denmark (*viz.* the 16th of May, 1792) by which the subjects of Sweden were also prohibited from trading in slaves after the beginning of the year 1803.

It having been discovered, that a considerable trade in slaves was carried on under the flag of Sweden, the subject was brought under the notice of the Swedish government, and a negotiation was set on foot with the view of inducing the King of Sweden to adopt measures for its suppression ; and on the 6th November, 1825, a treaty was signed at Stockholm, between the English and Swedish governments, by which the King of Sweden engaged to reiterate to his subjects, in the most explicit manner, the prohibition already existing to their trading in slaves, and to enact penal laws for its suppression. The mutual right of search was also agreed to, as was also the article rendering ships liable to seizure and condemnation if equipped for the slave trade.

An additional article, stipulating the breaking up of all ships condemned for slave trading, was signed at Stockholm on the 15th of June, 1835.

A negotiation has been entered into with the King of Sweden, to obtain his Majesty's accession to the conventions lately entered into between Great Britain and France, which there is no doubt will be successful.

AUSTRIA, RUSSIA, AND PRUSSIA.

The Emperors of Austria and of Russia, and the King of Prussia, were parties to the anti-slavery Declaration of the Congress of Vienna, and to the Resolutions of the Congress of Verona. Although there exists no direct proof, that the subjects of these monarchs are, or have been, engaged in the slave trade, still their flags have been used by foreigners for the purpose of covering their nefarious slave-trading transactions. To all representations made to these governments on this subject, the utmost attention has been made, and prompt measures have been adopted to rectify the evils complained of.

In the several conferences which have been held, and on other occasions, these Sovereigns have been ready to co-operate with the British government in pursuing measures for the final suppression of the slave-trade, and a negociation is now pending with them respectively, which there is every reason to expect will terminate in their accession to the two conventions recently concluded between Great Britain and France for that purpose.

Since the above was written, the negotiation, so far as regards the Court of Bremen, has been ratified, and published from the foreign office in this country. This document, although emanating from a power which has never been very prominent in this nefarious traffic, will be read with pleasure by every friend of humanity and justice. Every official denunciation of the trade, adopted by the different continental governments, not only prevents the flag of that country from being adopted and stained by the practice, but tends to single out to deeper and more marked infamy, those guilty nations which, in defiance of justice, and the first dictates of common honesty and human rights, obstinately adhere to this blood-stained traffic.

Foreign Office, April 3.

A dispatch, dated the 17th March, 1837, has been received by the Right Honourable Viscount Palmerston, G. C. B., his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, from Henry Canning, Esq., his Majesty's Consul General and Chargé d' Affaires at Hamburg, transmitting a law made at Bremen, for the prohibition of the slave trade, of which the following is a translation.

TRANSLATION.

Although the slave trade is a traffic which has always been foreign to the trade and navigation of Bremen, yet the wish that our laws should accord in regard to it with those of the great sea powers, in order to our becoming a party to their treaties for the total abolition of the traffic in slaves, has occasioned us to take the subject into careful consideration, and has caused the following penal law to be agreed upon at a meeting of the Bürger Convent, in Bremen, on the 4th of November last year:—

PENAL LAW AGAINST THE TRAFFIC IN SLAVES.

Art. 1. The traffic known under the name of slave trade, which has for object to provide North and South America, or the West Indies, with negro slaves from the African coast, together with all trades in connexion with it, is hereby prohibited in the free state of Bremen and its dependencies, and shall be deemed criminal.

Art. 2. Whosoever, either as owner, freighter, captain, mate, or supercargo, fits out or sails a vessel for the purpose of the slave trade mentioned in article 1, or who carries on the slave trade, or allows the fitting out or carrying on through any other person, or takes part therein, or assists in the offence as money-lender or treasurer, shall, according to circumstances, whether the vessel be stopped before her departure from the port of outfit, or after her departure, and even before commencing any slave seizures or slave trade, or, lastly, after any actual perpetration of slave seizing or slave trading, be condemned to imprisonment in the house of correction from one to fifteen years, and to pay a fine of from two hundred to five thousand rix dollars, and to the loss of his citizenship and all other municipal rights appertaining to him, and of his right to carry the Bremen flag. And further, according to circumstances, the confiscation of the vessel, her furniture, and cargo also may be made.

Art. 3. Foreigners who in the territory of Bremen, or on board of Bremen vessels, are, guilty of the offences described in the foregoing articles, or who make use of the Bremen flag, or who fit out, or cause to be fitted out, on Bremen territory, vessels under foreign flags to carry on the slave trade, shall be punished according to the present law.

Art. 4. All other acts tending to violate the prohibition contained in article 1, which may not have been named in articles 2 and 3, are equally subject to fine and imprisonment, according to circumstances, and may equally take away the right to carry the Bremen flag.

The Senate, in promulgating the foregoing law for the observance of every body, places confidence in the inhabitants of Bremen, that they will abstain in future, as they have done hitherto, from any the most distant participation in the dishonourable offence described in the aforesaid law.

Done at Bremen, in the Assembly of the Senate, on the 15th, and promulgated on the 20th February, 1837.

SARDINIA, THE TWO SICILIES, AND THE HANSE TOWNS.

His Sardinian Majesty executed a treaty (in 1834) containing his accession to the conventions concluded between Great Britain and France, on the 30th of November, 1831, and 22nd of March, 1833, for the more effectual suppression of the slave-trade; and treaties for the same purpose are in progress, between our government and the governments of Naples, and of the Hanse Towns, of whose accession to these conventions there can be no doubt.

HORRORS AND MORTALITY OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

[Extract from Mr. Rankin's Narrative of a Visit to Sierra Leone, published by Bentley, 1836.]

"Close in shore lay a large schooner, so remarkable from the low, sharp cut of her hull, and the excessive rake of her masts, that she seemed amongst the other craft as a swallow seems amongst birds. Her deck was crowded with naked blacks, whose woolly heads studded the rail. She was a slaver, with a large cargo. In the autumn of 1833, this schooner, apparently a Brazilian, and

named with the liberty-stirring appellation of 'Donna Maria da Gloria,' had left Loando, on the slave coast, with a few bales of merchandise, to comply with the formalities required by the authorities, from vessels engaged in legal traffic; for the slave-trade under the Brazilian flag is now piracy. No sooner was she out of port, than the real object of her voyage declared itself; she hastily received on board 430 negroes, who had been mustered in readiness, and sailed for Rio Janeiro.

"Off the mouth of that harbour she arrived in November, and was captured as a slaver by His Majesty's brig 'Snake.' The case was brought, in December, before the court established there; and the court decided, that as her Brazilian character had not been fully made out, it was incompetent to the final decision of the case. It was necessary to apply to the Court of Mixed Commission at Sierra Leone for the purpose of adjudication. A second time, therefore, the unfortunate dungeon-ship put to sea with her luckless cargo, and again crossed the Atlantic amidst the horrors of a two months' voyage. The 'Donna Maria da Gloria' having returned to Africa, cast anchor at Freetown in the middle of February, 1834, and on arrival found the number reduced by death from 430 to 335.

"Continuance of misery for several months in a cramped posture, in a pestilential atmosphere, had not only destroyed many, but had spread disease amongst the survivors. Dropsy, eruptions, abscesses, and dysentery were making ravages, and ophthalmia was general. Until formally adjudicated by the court, the wretched slaves could not be landed, nor even relieved from their sickening situation. With the green hills and valleys of the colony close to them, they must not leave their prison. I saw them in April; they had been in the harbour two months, and no release had been offered them. But the most painful circumstance was the final decision of the court. The slaver was proved to have been sailing under *Portuguese* colors, not Brazilian; and the treaty with the Portuguese prohibits slave traffic to the *north* of a certain line only, whereas the Donna Maria had been captured a few degrees to the *south*. Her capture was decided to have been illegal. She was formally delivered up to her slave captain; and he received from the British authorities written orders to the commanders of the British cruisers, guaranteeing her a safe and free passage back to the Brazils; and I saw the evil ship weigh anchor, and leave Sierra Leone, the seat of slave liberation, with her large canvas proudly swelling, and her ensign floating, as if in contempt and triumph. Thus, a third time, were the dying wretches carried across the Atlantic, after seven months' confinement; few, probably, lived through the passage."

CASE OF "LA PANTICA."

"The craft showed Spanish colors, and was named 'La Pantica.' We easily leaped on board, as she lay low in the water. The first hasty glance around caused a sudden sickness and faintness, followed by an indignation more intense than discreet. Before us, lying in a heap huddled together at the foot of the foremast, on the bare and filthy deck, lay several human beings in the last stage of emaciation—dying. The ship, fore and aft, was thronged with men, women, and children, all entirely naked, and disgusting with disease. The stench was really insupportable, cleanliness being impossible. I stepped to the hatchway, it was secured by iron bars and cross bars; and pressed against them were the heads of slaves below. It appeared that the crowd on deck formed

one-third only of the cargo, two-thirds being stowed in a sitting posture below, between decks; the men forward, the women aft. Two hundred and seventy-four were at this moment in the little schooner. When captured, three hundred and fifteen had been found on board; forty had died during the voyage from the old Calabar, where she had been captured by His Majesty's ship, 'Fair Rosamond,' and one had drowned himself on arrival, probably in fear of being 'yammed' by the English. It was not, however, until the second visit, on the following day, that the misery which reigns in a slave-ship was fully understood.

"The rainy season had commenced, and, during the night, rain had poured heavily down. Nearly a hundred slaves had been exposed to the weather on deck, and amongst them the heap of dying skeletons at the foremast. After making my way through the clustered mass of women on the quarter-deck, I discovered the [slave-captain, who had also been part owner, comfortably asleep in his cot, undisturbed by the horrors around him. The captives were now counted; their numbers, sex, and age, written down for the information of the Court of Mixed Commission. The task was repulsive. As the hold had been divided for the separation of the men and the women, those on deck were first counted; they were then driven forward, crowded as much as possible, and the women were drawn up through the small hatchway, from their hot, dark confinement. A black boatswain seized them one by one, dragging them before us for a moment, when the proper officer in a glance decided the age, whether above or under fourteen, and they were instantly swung again by the arm into their loathsome cell, where another negro boatswain sat with a whip or stick, and forced them to resume the bent and painful attitude necessary for the stowage of so large a number. The unfortunate women and girls, in general, submitted with quiet resignation, when absence of disease, and the use of their limbs permitted. A month had made their condition familiar to them; one or two were less philosophical, or suffered more acutely than the rest. Their shrieks rose faintly from their hidden prison, as violent compulsion alone squeezed them into their nook against the curve of the ship's side. I attempted to descend, in order to see the accommodation. The height between the floor and ceiling was about twenty-two inches. The agony of the position of the crouching slaves may be imagined, especially that of the men, whose heads and necks are bent down by the boarding above them. Once so fixed, relief by motion or change of posture is unattainable. The body frequently stiffens into a permanent curve; and, in the streets of Freetown, I have seen liberated slaves in every conceivable state of distortion. One I remember, who trailed along his body, with his back to the ground, by means of his hands and ankles. Many can never resume the upright posture."

That such horrible scenes of misery and cruelty should produce the most dreadful mortality amongst the negroes, is to be expected; but the following details will show a loss of life exceeding all anticipation. The diseases from which the negroes suffer most are small-pox, dysentery, scurvy, and ophthalmia.

The mortality on board slave-ships is not unfrequently almost incredible. Take, for instance, the following cases:—

"1835. February.—The 'Formidable,' Spanish brig, 200 tons. The prize-master, Mr. Halcrow, second acting-master of the 'Buzzard,' deposed in the

Commission Courts, that, 'on the 17th day of December, last past, there were 712 slaves on board the 'Formidable;' that, subsequent to the seizure of the said brig, 304 slaves died! that of that number six threw themselves overboard, and were drowned; 150, or thereabouts, died, from the said brig having been struck by lightning, on the 28th day of December last past, and from the effect of the shock, which descended from the fore and main hatchways (ten of them dying instantly); and that the remainder of the 304 slaves died from bowel complaints.*

"1835. February.—The 'Sutil' Spanish slave-schooner, seventy-seven Spanish tons, captured by the 'Pelorus,' took on board 335 slaves in Calabar river, twenty-seven of whom died on the night she left that river, and seventy-nine more before she arrived at Sierra Leone, making a total of 106 deaths, within fifty days; and eighteen more died before condemnation.

"1835. March.—The 'Minerva,' alias 'Santa Ana,' Spanish Polacca, bark, took 725 slaves on board in the Calabar, 186 of whom died on the passage from Calabar to Sierra Leone, two were in a dying state on her arrival, and twenty more died before adjudication.

"1835. May.—The 'Marte,' Spanish brig, shipped upwards of 600 slaves at Loango, on the 25th February, 1835; and was captured by the 'Skipjack' on the 8th April, with 442 slaves on board. On the 19th April, 403, all that remained alive, were landed at the Havannah; thus, upwards of 200 deaths appear to have occurred from the time of shipping this cargo of human beings, to the time of landing them, showing a loss of one-third of their number in forty-seven days!

"1835. December.—The 'Diligencia,' Spanish schooner, captured by His Majesty's ship, 'Champion,' shipped 210 slaves at Mayumba, 21st October, 1835. Of these, only 120 remained alive on the 12th December, when she was brought into the Havannah, more than half the number shipped having died in forty-three days!"

THE SLAVE'S STORY.

BY A MAN WHO HAS BEEN A SLAVE.

(*From the Liberator.*)

MR. JOHNSON, a colored man, was introduced, who said he could tell something about slavery. He *knew* what it was:—"I was born in Africa, several hundred miles up the Gambia river. Fine country dat; but we are called heathen in dis Christian—no, I don't know what to call it—in dis *enlightened heathen country* (Laughter). But the villagers in that country are very kind. When you go into house, first question is, have you had any thing to eat? Bring water, you wash, and den eat much you want; and all you got do is tank them for it—not one fip you pay. If you are sick, nurse you, and make you well—not one fip you pay. If you want clothing, one woman put in two knots warp, one put in two knots filling, and so on; den men weave it, and you cut just such garment you like—not one fip you pay. (Applause.)

* Parliamentary Papers, Class A. 1835, p. 50.

"When I was nine years old, I was out with my aunt to get figs; figs grow wild in dat country. I had to crawl amongst de bushes; when all at once I feel something pull my leg. I look around and could see no aunt, nothing but man of my own color; and I never seed my aunt since. Dis man took me to Massurdoo (Mesurado!) First white man I ever see was Capt. Boss, of Newport, R. I., and I tot he was de devil (Laughter). My own color told me he was a man, but I could not believe it. I was brought to Savannah. I could not eat corn-meal, not used to it; so I have little bit rice, and little homony; then go out every day to plunder (get something to eat). Dis kept me from being sold, till, being the last one, Capt. Boss look for me two days; den said, you mustn't go away to-day; gave me all rice I wanted; set me upon table like dat (pointing). Capt. Boss talk to people; dey look at me, and feel of me. By and by man wid mallet begin to talk and swing his mallet; dey talk once in while; he jabber, jabber, jabber, I no understand; den he fetch his mallet down, and all stop. Capt. Boss said, you go wid dat man. My master was Com. Bowen. He was more father than master. He always said he should set me free before he died. But he died soon, and I was left by will to his nephew, Judge Bowen, from Providence, with instructions that I should be free as soon I could take care of myself. But not to dwell, I WAS IN SLAVERY." A deep emotion was produced in the audience by this simple narrative.

He stated some of his experience and observation of the evils of slavery. "One day my master was dining with a gentleman who had a wife as black as dat hat. A young colored woman, as likely for her color as any lady in dis assembly (a laugh), waited on table. She happened to spill a little gravy on the gown of her mistress. The gentleman took his carving-knife, dragged her out to wood pile, and cut her head off; den wash his hands, come in and finish his dinner like nothing had happened! Do you call dat a Christian country? I never saw the like in Africa. My master dropped his knife and fork, and eat no more. The court was sitting; he was then a lawyer. He told the thing to several, but they only said, 'That is a Northern man, he ain't used to our customs; let him take himself back again, if he don't like our ways.'

"I have seen a Christian professor, after the communion, have four slaves tied together, and whipped raw, and then washed with beef brine. I know eight slaves once shut up in a barn one night, to be whipped next morning; it was winter, and they all escaped the lash, for they died! I have known a man offer five hundred dollars for shooting a slave for going to meeting. I knew one Tom Buckine, he was whipped a hundred and fifty lashes, every Monday, and washed with brine, for going to meeting. But that did not stop him; directly he was whipped, he would jump over fence, and pray for his master.

"It is common for the slaves to have 'stents,' and if you no do them, you get whip. If child cries, and mother has to stop to nurse it, and so the row gets behind, the husband helps it along, to keep whip off wife's back, and frequently gets it on his own; for who could see a woman whipped for taking care of his own child (emotion). *Slavery is most cruelest ting in de world.*" Mr. J. here expatiated very sensibly upon the peculiar evils of slavery in this country, and very suddenly pointed to Mr. Garrison, and said, "Dat man is de Moses raised up for our deliverance"; (tremendous applause). The reporter did not perceive the connexion of his narrative of events in Boston with those of his previous life. He said, one night as he was going over to Cambridge, he stopped at the toll-bridge, and got into conversation with a man about the diffi-

culty of getting pay for certain medical prescriptions, on account of not being a licensed physician. This man told him an easier way to get money. "I can tell you how you can make five thousand dollars easily." He took the hint (reference was had to the reward for Mr. Garrison's head), and replied—"I would not be the man to do that, I would defend him with my blood; I would wear a sword, and cut the man's head off who should offer to touch him."

He also stated some anecdotes of "Walker's Appeal." "I lent it to a man. He said, 'I have read your book.' Well how you like! 'O, very well, all *but*—'. Well, bring your '*buts*' to me; I've got an axe to chop them off" (laughter). He afterwards lent it to a Mr. Welch, who also liked it "all *but*." He proposed the same disposition of his difficulty. Mr. W. also said, 'He (Walker) wants to shed blood.' He then had this argument with W:—

"Wa'n't you a transport?"

"No."

"Well, your fathers were—banished to an island—dare not go back—death; came to this country; they (English) wanted to put them under 'injunction.' Now, how did you get liberty?"

"Our fathers fought for it."

"Were you Christians?"

"Yes."

"What! and fought for liberty?—God forbid (Applause)! O, tread on an insect, and if it can do nothing more, he will bite your foot (Applause). I will contend for liberty as long as I live (Applause). This day we are met to help the liberty of the slaves. Some say that they had rather be slaves than free. What! if you had a horse would you give him a pint of corn a day; can a man be content wid dat? Oh! how many children, boy like dat, go to master's crib every Saturday night, and draw out two quarts corn for a week. Man and wife draw half a bushel, and two or three herring. What, if you hold 'em up in tumb and finger, de wind would blow 'em away, so salt eaten. Masters often give servant ninepence to get food for dog; yes, he would pay dog's board, but leave slave to take care of himself.

The narrator was requested to give an account of his escape from slavery. It would appear that Judge Bowen, in some way, took law, in reference to certain blacks, and in their behalf, into his own hands, so as to offend his fellow-judge; and matters came to such a pass, that Judge B. drew a pistol upon him in the court-house. "They had an 'insurrection' in court," said Mr. J. (his manner, and previous references to "insurrection" caused a great laugh); His difficulties finally compelled him to come to his native north. The narrator was brought along, though still held as a slave. The story became still more interesting and amusing, so that the reporters dropped their pens, and enjoyed the sallies of his wit with the audience.

THE BRITISH DEPUTATION.

By the American "Emancipator," we learn that Messrs. Sturge and Scobell, who have been through the West India Islands to witness the working of the apprenticeship scheme, are expected in New York, to be present at the next Annual Meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, to be held in that city in May.

FEMALE SLAVES IN INDIA.

(From Bacon's Hindostan.)

UPON our return to our tents,' he says, 'we found there a man waiting our arrival with a very different sort of merchandise to any we had hitherto seen. He had with him two young girls, whom he had brought down from the Punjab, and these he was anxious to dispose of as slaves; offering the eldest, who was the least comely of the two, and about sixteen years of age, for one hundred and fifty rupees; and the other, who had really some pretensions to beauty, and was younger by about four years, for two hundred. The poor little things, putting their hands before them, in attitude of supplication, begged earnestly that we would purchase them, declaring that otherwise they should starve, and vowing to be faithful and obedient to us. Finding that we were not inclined to become purchasers, the man took them away, and the same proffer was made at every tent: they were ultimately purchased by a native gentleman, residing in the neighbourhood of Delhi, for about half the sums above-mentioned. This traffic in slaves is considered to have been long since abolished, but it is still surreptitiously practised throughout the upper provinces, and at any of these fairs, girls, may be purchased: they are generally from Georgia, Cashmeir, Kabul, the Punjab, or Moultan.

One of my servants, a Musselman, had a slave-girl, whom he had purchased for the sum of twenty-four rupees, about £2. Her history, as far as she was herself acquainted with it, is a very romantic one, and the reader will perhaps excuse my giving a slight sketch of it, which may be condensed in a very few pages.

The name of the girl was Rahmea; she was handsome, not more than seventeen or eighteen years of age, a native of Almora; her parents were not Ghorkas, as might be thence naturally inferred, but settlers from some large town upon the banks of the Ghinab, in the district of Kishtawar; the girl herself was ignorant of the name of the town. Her mother had been exceedingly beautiful, and, though poor by birth, had been exalted to great honour and dignity, as the wife, or favourite concubine, of a petty Rajah, who, by virtue of his comparative wealth, was looked upon as the principal man of the town; but he was a dissipated, debauched character, according to his wife's account, and she, therefore, thought it no sin to decamp from his bed and board, and furnish herself with a more sober, though less consequential, lord and master: and being in fear of vengeance from him upon whom she had turned her back, she quitted the neighbourhood and fled with her new spouse to Almora. Here they continued to live in peace and happiness for several years, having a bond of unity in the existence of a little daughter, who was considered the beauty of the place.

When the daughter had arrived at the age of ten years, she was one day playing, with others of her acquaintance, in the neighbourhood of the temples, when she was accosted by an old man, in the guise of a *fakhir*, who asked her many questions about her father and mother, their names and history; the child unhesitatingly gave the religious man all the information in her possession, and further told him that her father lay at home sick of an ague, which no medicine would cure. Upon this, the holy professor tendered his services, and was gladly conducted by the little girl to the habitation of her parents, who, unsuspecting of evil, thankfully received the advice and remedies which he proffered them.

The drugs having been administered, the symptoms of the patient grew more and more alarming; but the loving pair were comforted by the *fakhir's* assurances, that all would be well, and that a very few hours would suffice to free the sufferer from his malady. In company with the beautiful matron,—who, contrary to the general rule among eastern women, was still fascinating even though she had been ten years a mother, and twice a wife—the disinterested old priest sat and watched the sick man, giving him from time to time fresh draughts to quench his thirst; until at last, as midnight approached, the patient declared his conviction that life was fast ebbing, and would no longer credit the assurances of his physician. The old stranger was still arguing the point with him, when suddenly the poor man's features became dreadfully convulsed, and after lingering about an hour in the most exquisite torment, he expired, affirming with his last breath that the *fakhir* had poisoned him.

“Even so,” said the disguised Rajah, for it was he, the lady's former lord; “even so; I have poisoned you: would that your pangs had been doubly, ay, ten-fold more excruciating! And, now, Luchmi,” said he, turning to his *quondam* love, “what better fate do you expect from your injured master? Your nose is my first demand, and your matchless daughter is the next;” and then, at his command, the hut was immediately filled with armed men.

The beautiful Luchmi was gagged, and bound; and her ruthless captor, with his own hand, severed her nose from her face; she was then placed on horse-back, under the charge of one of the Rajah's followers, and was conveyed away, the daughter knew not whither; certainly with no very happy purpose, for nothing of love or tenderness was seen in the tyrant's bearing. There can be little doubt that, if suffered to live, she must have been confined for life, her only lot protracted misery; but there is better reason to believe that the ruffian would have destroyed her, when the heat of his reproaches and abuse had in a measure evaporated.

As for the poor child, Rahmea, she was carried to the Rajah's zenana, and continued for a few months an unwilling concubine of the murderer of her father; but having made more than a few attempts at self-destruction, she was ultimately cast adrift upon the wide world, with no for-

tune but her native comeliness. This gave her value in the eyes of one of the Rajah's dependents, who obtained permission to take her into his house; and business soon after carrying him to Delhi, he disposed of her to my servant, Secundur Kahn, for the trifle abovementioned, being wearied of the poor girl's unbending indifference.

At the time that Secundur Kahn related this tale to me, the girl had become greatly attached to her master, having been with him about six years, and being the mother of three fine children: I expressed a wish to see her, and my servant instantly complied. She was quite as handsome as he had described her; but I could elicit from her no intelligible replies to my inquiries, touching her history, or that of her mother. This apparently did not arise from shyness or stupidity, but from a disinclination to converse upon the subject with a stranger, and therefore I forebore to probe her farther.

NARRATIVE OF CHARLES BALL,

WHO LIVED FORTY YEARS AS A SLAVE IN MARYLAND, SOUTH CAROLINA,
AND GEORGIA.

THE above is the title of a volume just issued from the New York press, the contents of which are amongst the most affecting records of human guilt and misery we have ever perused. The style of the extracts which we shall make will sufficiently show that the book was not written by the slave whose sufferings it narrates. The facts were received from his lips, and prepared for the public, by one in whose integrity unbounded confidence may be placed.

FIRST SEPARATION FROM HIS MOTHER.

At the time I was sold I was quite naked, having never had any clothes in my life; but my new master had brought with him a child's frock, or wrapper, belonging to one of his own children; and, after he purchased me, he dressed me in this garment, took me before him on his horse, and started home; but my poor mother, when she saw me leaving her for the last time, ran after me, took me down from the horse, clasped me in her arms, and wept loudly and bitterly over me. My master seemed to pity her, and endeavoured to soothe her distress by telling her that he would be a good master to me, and that I should not want any thing. She then, still holding me in her arms, walked along the road beside the horse, as he moved slowly, and earnestly and imploringly besought my master to buy her and the rest of her children, and not permit them to be carried away by the negro buyers; but, whilst thus entreating him to save her and her family, the slave-driver who had first bought her came running in pursuit of her with a raw hide in his hand. When he overtook us, he told her he was her new master now, and ordered her to give that little negro to its owner, and come back with him.

My mother then turned to him and cried, "Oh, master, do not take me from my child!" Without making any reply, he gave her two or three heavy blows on the shoulder with his raw hide, snatched me from her arms, handed me to my master, and, seizing her by one arm, dragged her back towards the place of sale. My master then quickened the pace of his horse; and, as we advanced, the cries of my poor parent became more and more indistinct. At length, they

died away in the distance, and I never again heard the voice of my poor mother. Young as I was, the horrors of that day sank deeply into my heart; and even at this time, though half a century has elapsed, the terrors of the scene returned with painful vividness upon my memory. Frightened at the sight of the cruelties inflicted upon my poor mother, I forgot my own sorrows at parting from her, and clung to my new master as an angel and a saviour, when compared with the hardened fiend into whose power she had fallen. She had been a kind and good mother to me—had warmed me in her bosom in the cold nights of winter, and had often divided the scanty pittance of food allowed her by her mistress between my brothers, and sisters, and me, and gone supperless to bed herself. Whatever victuals she could obtain beyond the coarse food, salt fish, and corn bread allowed to slaves on the Patuxent and Potomac rivers, she carefully distributed among her children, and treated us with all the tenderness which her own miserable condition would permit. I have no doubt that she was chained and driven to Carolina, and toiled out the residue of a forlorn and famished existence in the rice-swamps or indigo-fields of the South.

My father never recovered from the effects of the shock which this sudden and overwhelming ruin of his family gave him. He had formerly been of a gay, social temper; and when he came to see us on a Saturday night, he always brought us a little present, such as the means of a poor slave would allow—apples, melons, sweet potatoes, or, if he could procure nothing else, a little parched corn, which tasted better in our cabin, because he had brought it in.

SEPARATION FROM HIS FAMILY.

After the subject of this narrative had been married, and become the father of a family, a separation from his wife and family was caused, as described below. In reading these extracts, let it be remembered that they describe some of those "circumstances" which always have been, and always will be, necessarily connected with a state of slavery; and yet we are told that "slavery may and does exist, under circumstances which free the slaveholder from the guilt and charge of immorality!"

My master kept a store at a small village on the bank of the Patuxent river, called B——, although he resided at some distance, on a farm. One morning he rose early, and ordered me to take a yoke of oxen and go to the village, to bring home a cart which was there, saying he would follow me. He arrived at the village soon after I did, and took his breakfast with his store-keeper. He then told me to come into the house and get my breakfast. Whilst I was eating in the kitchen, I observed him talking earnestly, but lowly, to a stranger near the kitchen-door. I soon after went out, and hitched my oxen to the cart, and was about to drive off, when several men came round about me, and amongst them the stranger whom I had seen speaking with my master. This man came up to me, and, seizing me by the collar, shook me violently, saying I was his property, and must go with him to Georgia. At the sound of these words, the thoughts of my wife and children rushed across my mind, and my heart died away within me. I saw and knew that my case was hopeless, and that resistance was vain, as there were near twenty persons present, all of whom were ready to assist the man by whom I was kidnapped. I felt incapable of weeping or speaking, and in my despair I laughed loudly. My purchaser ordered me to cross my hands behind, which were quickly bound with a strong cord; and he then told me that we must set out that very day for the South. I asked if I could not be allowed to go to see my wife and children, or, if this could not be

permitted, if they might not have leave to come and see me ; but was told that I would be able to get another wife at Georgia.

My new master, whose name I did not hear, took me that same day across the Patuxent, where I joined fifty-one other slaves, whom he had bought in Maryland. Thirty-two of these were men, and nineteen were women. The women were merely tied together with a rope about the size of a bed-cord, which was tied like a halter round the neck of each ; but the men, of whom I was the stoutest and strongest, were very differently caparisoned. A strong iron collar was closely fitted, by means of a padlock, round each of our necks. A chain of iron, about a hundred feet in length, was passed through the hasp of each padlock, except at the two ends, where the hasps of the padlocks passed through a link of the chain. In addition to this, we were handcuffed in pairs, with iron staples and bolts, with a short chain, about a foot long, uniting the handcuffs and their wearers in pairs. In this manner we were chained alternately by the right and left hand ; and the poor man to whom I was thus ironed wept like an infant when the blacksmith, with his heavy hammer, fastened the ends of the bolts that kept the staples from slipping from our arms. For my own part, I felt indifferent to my fate. It appeared to me that the worst had come that could come, and that no change of fortune could harm me.

CASE OF A SLAVE MOTHER.

As we went out in the morning, I observed several women, who carried their young children in their arms to the field. These mothers laid their children at the side of the fence, or under the shade of the cotton plants, whilst they were at work ; and when the rest of us went to get water, they would go to give suck to their children, requesting some one to bring them water in gourds, which they were careful to carry to the field with them. One young woman did not, like the others, leave her child at the end of the row, but had contrived a sort of rude knapsack, made of a piece of coarse linen cloth, in which she fastened her child, which was very young, upon her back—and in this way carried it all day, and performed her task at the hoe with the other people.

I pitied this woman ; and as we were going home at night, I came near her, and spoke to her. Perceiving as soon as she spoke, that she had not been brought up amongst the slaves of this plantation—for her language was different from theirs—I asked her why she did not do as the other women did, and leave her child at the end of the row in the shade. “Indeed,” said she, “I cannot leave my child in the weeds amongst the snakes. What would be my feelings if I should leave it there, and a scorpion were to bite it? Besides, my child cries so piteously when I leave it alone in the field, that I cannot bear to hear it. Poor thing ! I wish we were both in the grave, where all sorrow is forgotten !”

I asked this woman, who did not appear to be more than twenty years old how long she had been here, and where she came from. “I have been here,” said she, “almost two years—and came from the Eastern Shore. I once lived as well as any lady in Maryland, I was born a slave in the family of a gentleman whose name was Le Compt. My master was a man of property—lived on his estate, and entertained much company. My mistress, who was very kind to me, made me her nurse, when I was about ten years old, and put me to live with her own children. I grew up amongst her daughters, not as their equal and companion, but as a favoured and indulged servant. I was always well dressed and received a portion of all the delicacies of their table. I wanted nothing, and had not the trouble of providing even for myself. I believe there was not a happier being in the world than I was. At present none can be more wretched.”

After giving an account of previous hardships and perils, and how she was finally kidnapped and carried off, she thus concludes her story :

‘ When we commenced our journey for the South, we were about sixty in number. The men were chained together, but the women were all left quite at liberty. At the end of three weeks, we reached Savannah river, opposite the town of Augusta, where we were sold out by our owner. Our present master was there, and purchased me and another women, who has been at work in the field to-day.

“ Soon after I was brought home, the overseer compelled me to be married to a man I did not like. He is a native of Africa, and still retains the manners and religion of his country. He has not been with us to-day, as he is sick and under the care of the doctor. I must hasten home to get my supper, and go to rest—and glad I should be if I were never to rise again.

“ I have several times been whipped unmercifully, because I was not strong enough to do as much work with the hoe as the other women—who have lived all their lives on this plantation, and have been accustomed from their infancy to work in the field.

“ For a long time after I was brought here, I thought it would be impossible for me to live on the coarse and scanty food with which we are supplied. When I contrast my former happiness with my present misery, I pray for death to deliver me from my sufferings.”

The Narrative gives an account of the death of this poor woman, which took place soon after the conversation above described.

CAT HAULING.

He was on a journey with his master, and at a place where they stopped over night, he describes a case of cat-hauling. A whole gang of slaves had been flogged to make one of them confess that he had stolen a hog. Finally, one was fixed upon as the culprit, and the following method taken for his punishment :—

A boy was then ordered to get up, run to the house, and bring a cat, which was soon produced. The cat, which was a large grey tom-cat, was then taken by the well-dressed gentleman, and placed upon the bare back of the prostrate black man, near the shoulder, and forcibly dragged by the tail down the back, and along the bare thighs of the sufferer. The cat sunk his nails into the flesh, and tore off pieces of the skin with his teeth. The man roared with the pain of this punishment, and would have rolled along the ground, had he not been held in his place by the force of four other slaves, each one of whom confined a hand or a foot. As soon as the cat was drawn from him, the man said he would tell who stole the hog, and confessed that he and several others, three of whom were then holding, had stolen the hog—killed, dressed, and eaten it. In return for this confession, the overseer said he should have another touch of the cat, which was again drawn along his back, not as before, from the head downwards, but from below the hips to the head. The man was then permitted to rise, and each of those who had been named by him as a participator in stealing the hog, was compelled to lie down, and have the cat twice drawn along his back—first downwards, and then upwards. After the termination of this punishment, each of the sufferers was washed with salt water by a black woman, and they were then all dismissed.

This was the most excruciating punishment that I ever saw inflicted on black people—and, in my opinion, it is very dangerous, for the claws of the cat are poisonous, and wounds made by them are very subject to inflammation.

Slavery in America.

No. XII.—JUNE, 1837.

TO THE SECRETARIES OF COUNTY ASSOCIATIONS.

It is requested that those Associations, which, in their annual meetings at this season of the year, have passed resolutions on the subject of *American Slavery*, would have the kindness to transmit a copy of them to the Editor of this magazine through the medium of the publisher. One hundred copies of this publication are gratuitously forwarded to the Secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, with a request that he would take the charge of conveying a copy to each of the Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Societies, and the editors of liberal and anti-slavery newspapers throughout the states, so that whatever of British feeling may be expressed on occasion of these County Associations will be conveyed, without any trouble or expense, directly to the parties for whom they are intended.

To encourage this expression of British feeling, and to show its important bearing on the all-absorbing topic of slavery among professing Christians, we have been favoured with a copy of the following letter from the President of the American Anti-slavery Society, addressed to GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq., which we have great pleasure in laying before our readers.

To George Thompson, Esq.

“ Dear Sir,

“ For yourself, you know too well the value of British sympathy and co-operation to the cause of emancipation on this side of the water, to need any fresh assurances from us to urge you forward in your most useful and successful labours. But in the failure of the mission which we hoped to have sent to Europe before the present time, it is due to you, and the friends of universal emancipation to whom you have access, that we

should not neglect this means of acknowledging our indebtedness for the multiplied, cordial, and unreserved 'God-speeds,' which your exertions have called forth from British freemen. The resolutions of public meetings in England and Scotland, the results of the debate at Glasgow, and the numerous memorials and remonstrances of your religious bodies sent to similar bodies in our country, together with the righteous resolution of some of them not to extend Christian fellowship to slaveholders, have greatly aided us in promoting that reformation of public sentiment here which it is our object to effect. The freedom or slavery of two and a half millions of our countrymen is not a national but a human question. It interests the friends of freedom in all nations, and the more from the unhallowed connexion of slavery with republican institutions, and reformed Christianity. With all our outcry against 'foreign interference,' reflecting men among us do not fail to see, that British freemen have a right to interfere, both on account of the injury which slavery does them, and the power they may exert against it. No crime is more completely under the sway of public opinion than slaveholding. Its existence depends upon the countenance and support which it receives from the people of non-slaveholding countries. To say nothing of the practicability and effectiveness of a physical embargo, the slavery of our country needs only be put under the moral embargo of the civilized world, to be consigned to its grave. Of this our slaveholding fellow-citizens have betrayed themselves conscious. They well know that their inheritance of blood must fall from their grasp as soon as the English language comes to make *slaveholding* synonymous with *robbery*. And where shall our common mother tongue be rectified, if not at the fountain-head?

"We entreat the philanthropists of Britain not to grow weary. Let them hold up the horrors of American slavery till the desired change shall be effected. It will not be time for them to give over their public meetings, their remonstrances, their faithful reproofs, their deadly thrusts at slavery and prejudice, in every newspaper, magazine, review, and literary work, till southern travellers, who flock to your shores, shall find slaveholding no better passport to good British Society, than forgery and highway robbery. And we entreat our British brethren not to forget our American prejudice against color—the armour-bearer of slavery. Let it not alone till its shame is equal to its sin.

"If any argument were needed to give force to these suggestions, it would be abundantly sufficient to say that your magnanimous and expansive efforts for the overthrow of the trans-ocean slave-trade must be in a great measure fruitless, till the accomplishment of our object closes the market.

"We repeat, the noble attitude of British Christians in their memorials and remonstrances already forwarded to this country, has been of incalculable service to our cause. It has contributed largely to bring back our

northern churches from the support of slavery—especially of the Baptist, Presbyterian, Congregational, and Methodist denominations—multitudes from these churches during the past year have been flocking to our standard, and the churches themselves are fast coming up to the position of non-fellowship with slaveholders.

“ We entreat you, beloved fellow-labourer in the cause of the despised and down-trodden to take to yourself the fullest assurance that your self-denying and abundant labours are producing glorious results, and that you are no more absent from our thoughts and affections while pleading for our outraged clients and ourselves in your own land, than you were while so powerfully advocating the same cause in ours. Suffer not the thought to enter your heart that we shrink from the obloquy which attaches to your aid as ‘ foreign interference.’ We set no value upon that national prejudice which would bar out the benign and liberalizing influences of truth, as you well know we do by that other prejudice, of kindred meanness, which would limit the blessings of free institutions and gospel privileges by the colour of the skin. Did we not feel the aid and sympathy of British Christians to be of vital importance to our success, we could not for a moment tolerate your absence from the United States, where many would now listen to you with delight who once encouraged the shameful violence which sought to drive you from our shores.

“ With fraternal regard, in behalf of the Executive Committee
of the American Anti-slavery Society,

“ ARTHUR TAPPAN, President.

FOREIGN SLAVE TRADE.

No. III.

SOUTH AMERICA.

WE notice the efforts made for the suppression of the slave-trade in the southern part of the American continent before that of the northern, because the feelings excited in the two cases are essentially different, and we reserve the most revolting for the last. It ought to be recollected that in most of the newly-formed states of South America, there is so little consolidation in their political institutions ; so feeble and inefficient a connexion between the legislative and executive departments of their respective governments, that to enact right and equitable laws, and place them upon their statute-books, is almost all they are able to accomplish. When these laws contravene the established customs and private interests of individuals, they will almost of necessity be resisted or avoided ; the

cupidity of the man will triumph over his allegiance to the state ; and the government, having no power to enforce its laws, they will be so often violated as to make them a mere dead letter—a rule for the judgment rather than the practice.

Though a regard to justice may draw this apology from us in reference to some of the governments of South America, yet in others there is too manifest an indication that they regard all negotiation with other states about the slave-trade as an affair of diplomacy rather than of practice ; a token of homage and respect to governments with which they wish to maintain terms of amicable intercourse, rather than a matter of practical reform among their own people. Still, to have the laws of these various nations, many of whom had been cradled and educated in slavery, look in a right direction, is an important point gained ; and will be found so, when the tide of abolition sentiments shall come to be more thoroughly understood and more generally felt. To adapt the practice in conformity with the laws of any kingdom, is much easier than to change both law and custom.

The powers in South America with which the British government have entered into negotiations for the suppression of slavery and the slave-trade, are the following :—

Brazil, in consequence of its former intimate connexion with the crown of Portugal, has been classed with the powers of Europe.

Mexico.—The supreme executive government of Mexico passed a decree, dated 13th July, 1824, by which the slave-trade is abolished ; every ship, whether national or foreign, arriving in their ports, is confiscated ; the guilty parties made liable to a punishment of ten years' imprisonment, and all the slaves on board declared *ipso facto* free.

Rio de la Plata.—By the 14th article of a treaty made between Great Britain and the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, ratified on the 19th of February, 1825, the government of those Provinces engaged to co-operate with this Country in its endeavours to abolish the slave-trade, and to prohibit in the most effectual manner, and by the most solemn laws, all persons residing in the United Provinces, or subject to its jurisdiction, from taking any part in the same.

Pernambuco.—The President of Pernambuco, issued an Edict in July, 1824, by which the slave-trade was suspended, until the Legislative Assembly should have finally determined the question.

Peru.—On the 12th of August, 1821, the government of Peru issued a Decree for the gradual abolition of slavery itself, by which it is declared, that all sons of slaves, born and to be born on the Peruvian territory from the 28th of July, 1821, shall be free, and shall enjoy the same rights as other Peruvian citizens. The British Consul at Peru has been instructed by Lord Palmerston, in a despatch, dated 13th of November, 1835, to negotiate a treaty with that government for the abolition of the slave-trade.

Venezuela.—Similar instructions have been sent to our Consul at this place.

Chili.—On the 11th of October, 1811, the Supreme National Congress of Chili “resolved and decreed, that from that day, no slave should be brought into Chili ; and that all slaves, being on their passage to countries where slavery

subsists, who should happen for any reason to remain in Chili for six months, should become and be, *ipso facto*, free." And it was further "resolved and decreed, that all children born of slaves from the date above-mentioned, should be free."

Buenos Ayres.—On the 14th of May, 1812, the Cabildo published the Superior Decree of the government of Buenos Ayres, of the 9th of April preceeding, which absolutely prohibits the introduction of slaves into the United Provinces. The 2nd article orders the immediate departure of all slaves which may arrive within one year from the 25th of May, 1812; and the third article decrees freedom to all such as may arrive after that period.

This Decree is followed by another, dated 2nd February, 1813, by which all the children of slaves are declared and holden to be free, who shall be born from and after the 31st of January, 1813. By a law of the 15th of November, 1824, the trading in slaves was declared to be piracy. In 1831, however, this law was in part annulled, and permission was given for the introduction of slaves in the class of *servants*,—a permission, which it will readily be believed, was soon abundantly abused. The British Consul at Buenos Ayres was not slow in making strong remonstrances upon the subject; and in November, 1833, a Decree was issued, the first article of which is as follows:—"The enactments prohibiting the traffic are declared to be in full vigour, more especially the law of the 15th of November, 1824." By a despatch from the British Consul, dated 15th of November, 1835, it appears, he was engaged in negociating a Convention with the government of Buenos Ayres, for the more effectual suppression of the slave-trade.

Columbia.—On the 19th of July, 1821, the Congress of Columbia passed a law for the manumission of slaves, by which, all the children of slaves born after the publication thereof, are declared to be free.

By the same law, the introduction of new slaves is strictly prohibited, and all such as may be surreptitiously introduced, are to be forfeited and to become free.

Guatemala.—One of the first acts of the Constituent Assembly of Guatemala, was the abolition of *slavery* itself; which disgrace of a civilized age was annihilated, so far as this State was concerned, by a decree of the 17th of April, 1824. The article is short and expressive,—it is as follows:—

"Every man in the Republic is free, and no one who takes refuge under its laws can be a slave, nor shall any one be accounted a citizen, who carries on the slave-trade."

Monte Video.—The 131st article of the Constitution made all children born of slave parents, free, and entirely prohibited the importation or traffic in slaves, after the 10th of September, 1829. By this act, it was considered that slavery would become extinct in the present generation. But soon after the abdication of the Emperor of Brazil, numerous individuals emigrated to the Republic, bringing with them their property and slaves; at first, the government, desirous of promoting farther emigration, wilfully shut their eyes to small numbers disembarking in the character of body servants, &c. In the course, however, of a very short time, the slave-dealers at Rio de Janeiro, ever upon the alert to take advantage of circumstances, commenced a traffic, by introducing slaves under the denomination of sailors in Brazilian vessels, or servants to Brazilian passengers, and claimed protection for this traffic under the interpretation of the word *property* in the 147th article of the constitution, which says, "Any individual is at liberty to enter the Republic, to reside in it, or to leave it *with his property*, observing the laws," &c. &c. These claims set up by Brazilian subjects, and

supported by their political agent at Monte Video, led to a correspondence between the government and the government of Brazil, which terminated in the adoption, after rather a lengthened debate in the House of Representatives, on the 26th of March, 1832, of the following law:—

Article I.—All slaves that shall be introduced into the territory of the Republic after the promulgation of the present law, shall, by the same act, be free. Except, 1st, Sailors of foreign vessels entered on the muster roll. 2nd, Slaves to foreign agents,—the one and the other shall remain slaves whilst they continue in the same service. 3rd, Slaves belonging to passengers, previous to the expiration of six months, will be protected by the office to which the case belongs. 4th, Slaves that had belonged to the republic, and shall return with the same masters that exported them, within the term of two years.

Article II.—Those slaves excepted in the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd cases of the foregoing article shall be free, from the moment that their masters shall sell or exchange them. And those slaves comprehended in the 3rd class of the 1st article, if not exported within six months, shall, after the expiration of that term, by the said act be free.

Notwithstanding the slave-trade was thus made illegal, yet, as in all other cases, it had little or no effect in suppressing it. In the Parliamentary papers of last session, we find many remonstrances made to the government of Monte Video, by the British consul on the subject, and that he had made an attempt to negotiate a convention for its more effectual suppression. But it is painful to add, there appears at present but little hope of his success. Mr. Consul Hamilton, in his despatch to Lord Palmerston, dated 23rd July, 1835, says,

“I perceive a most decided reluctance to put down the slave-trade, although it is distinctly prohibited by the constitution of the country, and many enactments hostile to it have subsequently, from time to time, been promulgated; together with a repugnance altogether as unequivocal to all foreign alliance: and that if the present Executive had ever, for one moment, in the teeth of that reluctance and that repugnance, seriously and sincerely meditated the entire execution of the treaties, it was solely with the hope of accomplishing, with greater facility, the long-contemplated loan in England.

“But the party in the country, who are adverse to these treaties with his Majesty, have now acquired a decided ascendancy, and in consequence, the said loan, in spite of the heavy embarrassments of the exchequer, has dwindled, when placed against the rejection of those treaties, into an object of secondary importance.”*

Madagascar.—In 1817 a treaty was concluded with Radama, the King of Madagascar, and renewed, with additional articles, in 1820, for the final abolition of the slave-trade throughout the whole extent of his dominions.

Muscat.—On the 10th of September, 1822, the Imaum of Muscat signed a treaty with Great Britain, by which his Highness engaged, “that all traffic in slaves to foreign countries should cease, and be abolished for ever, throughout his dominions and dependencies.

Persian Gulf.—In January, 1820, a general treaty was signed with the Arab tribes of the Persian Gulf, containing a declaration, that “the carrying off of slaves,—men, women, and children, from the coast of Africa, or elsewhere, and the transporting them in vessels, is plunder and piracy, and the friendly Arabs shall do nothing of this nature.”

(*To be concluded in our next.*)

* See Parliamentary Papers.

AMERICAN KIDNAPPERS.

ONE of the most revolting features in American society is the insecurity of life and liberty among the free persons of colour, in the Northern as well as the southern states. No free black is safe, even in the city of New York, without his parchment certificate about his body, at all times, and in all places. A set of miscreants are constantly prowling about, who, under colour of searching for runaway slaves, kidnap those who never were slaves, and hurry them off into interminable bondage. The papers published by the friends of the negro abound with the most frightful cases of oppression and cruelty of this kind. The laws passed for the protection of such persons are too feeble against that universal prejudice which is inherited by almost the entire population ; so that a case of wrong which in this country would ring from one end of the land to the other, is there but slightly regarded, however deep the interests that are involved.

“Rev. W. Munro, of Portland, and Mr. Forbes, of Boston, concur in declaring that the practice of whites to search any coloured persons, bond or free, male or female, whom they meet in the slave-states, is universal ; and indeed any one who reflects upon the laws of those states, must be aware that this right of search would necessarily result from those laws. This is very important in its bearing on the kidnapping branch of the Domestic Trade. For, generally speaking, a free coloured man, deprived of his free papers, can entertain very little hope of vindicating his freedom. Where the liberty of a slave is in question, it is extremely difficult to obtain the testimony of whites to facts in his favour, however clear or notorious they may be. Mr. Forbes says, that he has known white witnesses, whose love of truth, justice, and humanity impelled them to come forward, and enabled them to defy persecution, to give their evidence amidst the hisses of the whole court-house. When it is considered that the sheriffs and constables or other persons serving subpoenas for witnesses, must all be white—that they must be paid—that the negro has very little to pay with, and can never, on the score of expense, compete with his master—that even if he should be able to bring his witnesses into court, he can seldom, from these causes, have legal counsel ; and that at last he is to be judged by slaveholders, it must be seen and acknowledged, that any free coloured man, without his certificate in his pocket, is a slave, not of one man, but of every man he meets ! Such are some of the consequences of substituting a bit of parchment for that great law of God, that all men are free ; that universal law, which the Roman code in its worst state fully acknowledged, and applied to the condition of slavery in that empire ; so that there, in the worst of times, every man was presumed to be free, until the contrary were proved. Here he is presumed to be a slave, unless he proves himself free !

“The laws of the slave states concur with private depravity, to keep up this abominable trade. Their prisons stand ever ready to fly open for the accommodation of soul-sellers and stealers, and to close upon their captives. The statutes of the old slave-breeding and slave-trading southern states provide every means

for rendering man-merchandizing easy and lucrative. Thus they authorize the county courts to issue, under seal, certificates of the good character of any slave about to be sold to Georgia, Louisiana, &c. which greatly enhances his merchantable value, and is analogous to an invoice or bill of health in a lawful commerce. The inhuman, and worse than heathen principles, universal in the slave states, that any coloured man shall be taken and deemed to be a slave, and shall be incompetent as a witness, whether slave or not, augment prodigiously the facility of enslaving free men. Thus any coloured man may be imprisoned by any white, and if no white witness appear, he must be sold to pay the advertising, jail fees, and for apprehending him. The laws in some states are so conscientious as to direct that in such cases he shall be sold only for a term of years to pay the above expenses; but all accounts of the practice agree that this restriction is generally nugatory. Once sold, they are taken to Georgia and other states more south, and disposed of as entire slaves, to those who know not the contrary, or disregard it if they do; and after this they must inevitably remain slaves for the residue of their lives. The awful motto was not more applicable to Dante's hell:

“ ‘O ye who enter here, abandon hope!’

than to the entrance of Georgia or the Mississippi by these unhappy men.

“It is true that ‘free papers,’ as they are called, are some protection so long as they are retained, but what are they worth when every white ruffian has the right of search, and in nine cases out of ten finds those papers, however carefully concealed, and tears them in pieces?

“Another law, which, if not universal, is very general, in slave states, is that a slave, or any person for him, who shall sue for the freedom of the slave, in case the action shall fail, shall pay to the master *DOUBLE COSTS*, and no slave can prosecute such action without first giving security for costs.

“With such multiplied impediments in their way, how many free men held in bondage, will be likely to vindicate their freedom? The negroes must have a white man in some states to prosecute for them; in all, they must have white sureties and witnesses, either of which it renders a white man unpopular with his caste to be. Then he has counsel to fee, and clerk's and jury fees to advance. All these things require money of men, whose very condition it is to have no right to acquire property, and to be incapable of possessing a farthing! Supposing him by some miracle to have surmounted these, still judge and jury are slaveholders.”

Mr. Bourne, in his *Picture of Slavery*, relates, that “nothing is more common than for two of these white partners in iniquity, Satan-like, to start upon the prowl, and if they find a freeman on the road, to demand his certificate, tear it in pieces or secrete it, tie him to one of their horses, hurry to some jail, while one whips the citizen along as fast as their horses can travel. There, by an understanding with the jailer, who shares in the spoil, all possibility of intercourse with his friends is cut off. At the earliest possible period, the captive is sold to pay the felonious claims of the law, bought through jugglery by this trio of man-stealers; and then transferred to some of their accomplices in iniquity, who fill every part of the southern states with fraud, rapine, and blood.”

The following heart-rending facts will fully confirm the above statements; and if they do not awaken British Christians to arise for the help of this poor, despised, and down-trodden portion of their fellow-creatures, we shall despair of arousing their sympathies on any subject.

"In the same garret, were a young black widow woman, and an infant at the breast, both of whom were born free. Her husband had died a few days previous to her seizure, and she was in a state of pregnancy at the time. She stated that the man in whose house she resided, together with her brother, and three other persons, came into the room where she was in bed, seized and dragged her out, fastened a noose round her neck to prevent her from screaming, and attempted to blindfold her, which she resisted with such violence that she prevented them from succeeding. She said, while one of them was endeavouring to fix the bandage over her eyes, that she seized his cheek with her teeth, and tore a piece of it entirely off. She said one of them struck her head several times with a stick of wood, from the wounds of which she was almost entirely covered with blood. She showed me a large scar upon her forehead, occasioned by one of the blows which a gentleman, who saw her the day previous to the seizure, has since informed me was not there before. She said, while she was struggling against them, and screaming, the man in whose house she lived bawled out, 'Choak the —— ! don't let her halloo; she'll scare my wife!' Having conquered her by superior force, she said they placed her with the child in the chaise, and refusing to dress herself, three of them, leaving the two who belonged to the house, carried her off in the condition that she was dragged from the bed, to a certain tavern in Maryland, and sold them both to the man-dealer, who brought them to the city of Washington. She stated that one of her captors drove the carriage, and held the rope which was fixed to her neck, and that one rode each side, on horseback; that while one of them was negotiating a bargain with her purchaser, he asked her who her master was, and replying that she had none, her seller beckoned to him to go into another room, where the business was adjusted without troubling her with any further inquiries. She stated that her purchaser confessed, while on the way to Annapolis, that he believed she might have had some claim to freedom, and intimated that he would have taken her back, if the man of whom he bought her had not run away; but requested her, notwithstanding, to say nothing to any body about her being free, which she refused to comply with. She affirmed that he offered her for sale to several persons, who refused to purchase her on account of her asserting that she was free. She stated that her purchaser had left her in Washington for a few weeks, and gone to the Eastern Shore, in search of more black people, in order to make up a drove for Georgia.

"Mr. Jude Hall, a coloured man of New Hampshire, a valiant soldier during the whole of the American war, and at the time of his death a pensioner of the United States, lost three sons by kidnapping from New England vessels. One of them, after ten years' bondage, escaped to England, and wrote from there a few years ago, an account of his being sold by his captain, of his continuance in slavery during the above period, of his escape thence, and of his success and prosperity after arriving in England, where he had become the captain of a coasting vessel, and was happily married. This news was received after the

death of the father. The other two, if living, are still in slavery, and it is not known where.*

“A coloured seaman of Boston was lately kidnapped at New Orleans, and committed to the calaboose, preparatory to being sold and sent into the interior. He supposes that his captain, a Scotchman named Bulkley, was privy to the outrage. There he remained in the most filthy and infested of prisons, and believes that he should have been in slavery at this time, if he had not been able to speak French. Availing himself of this advantage, he conveyed a message through a creole French soldier who was on guard, to two friends in the city, who obtained his release.

“This sailor saw in the prison nine coloured men, whom he knew to be free, having known several of them as stewards on board of northern vessels. Two of them belonged to Boston, one to Portland, and three to New-York. After twenty days, they were to be sold. The witness adds the following remarkable declaration, which it is to be hoped may operate, if not as a help to reform this horrid abuse, at least as a caution to all coloured seamen, both against their own officers, and the catiffs who infest the shores of the Mississippi.

“There is a continual stream of free coloured persons from Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, and other sea-ports of the United States, passing through the calaboose into slavery in the country.

“James G. Barbadoes, of Boston, a member of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention states, among five cases of kidnapping within his own knowledge, one was that of his own brother. We quote his words:—

“About eighteen years ago, Robert H. Barbadoes was kidnapped in New Orleans, imprisoned, handcuffed and chained, for about five months or longer, and deprived every way of communicating his situation to his parents. His protection was taken from him, and torn up. He was often severely flogged to be made submissive, and deny that he was free born. He was unluckily caught with a letter wrote with a stick, and with the blood drawn from his own veins, for the purpose of communicating to his father his situation; but this project failed, for the letter was torn away from him and destroyed, and he very severely flogged. He then lost almost every hope; but at length the above Peter Smith† was kidnapped again in this garden of paradise of freedom, and being lodged in the same cell with him, he communicated to Smith the particulars of his sufferings. At the examination of Smith, he was found to have free papers, signed by the Governor; in consequence of which he was set at liberty. He then wrote to Barbadoes’ parents, and likewise arrived in Boston as soon as the letter. Free papers were immediately obtained, and signed by his father and Mrs. Mary Turel, Mr. — Giles, and Mr. Thomas Clark, town clerk; and by the Governor of this state demanding him without delay, he was returned to his native town, Boston, where all these other persons belonged.

The following case is related by Mr. Stanton.

“A member of this institution, recently visiting among the coloured people of Cincinnati, entered a house where was a mother and her little son. The

* Affidavit of Robert Roberts of Boston.

† One of the four persons previously mentioned by Mr. Barbadoes.

wretched appearance of the house, and the extreme poverty of its inmates, induced the visitor to suppose that the husband of the woman must be a drunkard. He inquired of the boy, who was two or three years old, where his father was? He replied, 'Papa stolt.' The visitor seemed not to understand, and turning to the mother, said, 'What does he mean?' She then related the following circumstances. About two years ago, one evening, her husband was sitting in the house, when two men came in, and professing great friendship, persuaded him under some pretence to go on board a steam-boat, then lying at the dock, and bound down the river. After some hesitation, he consented to go. She heard nothing from him for more than a year, but supposed he had been kidnapped. Last spring, Dr. ———, a physician of Cincinnati, being at Natchez, Mississippi, saw this negro in a drove of slaves, and recognized him. He ascertained, from conversation with him, that he had been driven about from place to place since he was decoyed from home by the slave-drivers,—had changed masters two or three times, and had once been lodged in jail for safe keeping, where he remained some time. When Dr. ——— returned to Cincinnati, he saw the wife of the negro, and engaged to take the necessary steps for his liberation. But soon afterwards, this gentleman fell a victim to the cholera, which was then prevailing in Cincinnati. No efforts have since been made to recover this negro. No tidings have been heard from him since the return of Dr. ———. He is probably now labouring on some sugar or cotton plantation in Louisiana, without the hope of escaping from slavery, although he is a free born citizen of Philadelphia."

REVIEW:—SLAVERY IN AMERICA: A REPRINT OF AN APPEAL TO THE CHRISTIAN WOMEN OF THE SLAVE STATES OF AMERICA. BY ANGELINA E. GRIMKE, of Charleston, South Carolina. With Introduction, Notes, and Appendix, By GEORGE THOMPSON.

Hamilton and Co. London.

THE above is the title of a pamphlet, a large edition of which has just issued from the Edinburgh press, and which we earnestly recommend to all who have any sympathy remaining for that large portion of suffering humanity who are yet held in the iron fetters of slavery; and the more galling and degrading from the high profession of religion which many of their unfeeling taskmasters have assumed.

This appeal is introduced to the attention of the British reader by several useful memoranda on the general subject of slavery, and which adapt it to that large class of readers, who, since the passing of the abolition act, have not taken much interest in a subject which once absorbed their almost entire attention.

The APPEAL is from the pen of Miss Angelina E. Grimké, of Charleston, South Carolina (a slave state), a lady of distinguished family connexions, great moral worth, of peculiarly engaging manners, and undoubted piety. "It was my privilege," remarks Mr. Thompson, "to become acquainted with Miss Grimké during a visit to Philadelphia two years ago. Her fervent zeal in the cause of the slave, blended with a manner peculiarly soft and unostentatious, produced a deep impression upon my mind. I can bear testimony to the high estimation in which she is held

by the wise and good of her native country. She left, I believe, the state of her birth, that she might escape from the polluted atmosphere of slavery, and mingle with those who sigh and cry for the abominations which are done in the land. With her sister, who shares her zeal, she is devoted to the cause of abolition, and is at the present time engaged in delivering addresses to select meetings of females on the subject of slavery. Her pamphlet is characterized by high unbending principle, sound reasoning, just views of the extent of the Divine law, and the spirit of the Gospel, and a tone of exquisitely tender and touching expostulation. It is eminently fitted to affect the conscience of the party addressed. The writer is well acquainted with the chief objections urged against emancipation and the abolition movement, and has wisely directed her attention to these. Her book is an able exposure of the fallacies by which it is sought to palliate slavery, and a generous and powerful vindication of the motives and measures of the immediate abolitionists.

The Anti-slavery movement in the United States has called into activity a vast amount of mind. There is no one topic, apart from politics, upon which so much is written as the subject of slavery; and certainly no topic besides, upon which what is written (on the *anti-slavery* side), is more in accordance with the spirit and precepts of the Gospel. The abolitionists of America, in the prosecution of their great object, have had to contend with opposition of every conceivable kind. They have been assailed in their persons, their property, and their reputation; but have, nevertheless, evinced, throughout the struggle hitherto, the most heroic devotedness to their principles."

The Appeal opens as follows:—

"Respected Friends,

"It is because I feel a deep and tender interest in your present and eternal welfare, that I am willing thus publicly to address you. Some of you have loved me as a relative, and some have felt bound to me in Christian sympathy and Gospel fellowship; and even when compelled by a strong sense of duty to break those outward bonds of union which bound us together as members of the same community, and members of the same religious denomination, you were generous enough to give me credit for sincerity as a Christian, though you believed I had been most strangely deceived. I thanked you then for your kindness, and I ask you *now*, for the sake of former confidence and former friendship, to read the following pages in the spirit of calm investigation and fervent prayer. It is because you have known me that I write thus unto you.

"But there are other Christian women scattered over the southern states, and these, a very large number of whom have never seen me, and never heard my name, and who feel *no* interest whatever in *me*. But I feel an interest in *you*, as branches of the same vine, from whose root I daily draw the principle of spiritual vitality. Yes! Sisters in Christ, I feel an interest in *you*, and often has the secret prayer arisen in your behalf,—Lord, 'open thou their eyes, that they may see wondrous things out of thy law.' It is, then, because I *do feel* and *do pray* for you, that I thus address you upon a subject about which, of all others

perhaps, you would rather not hear anything; but 'would to God you could bear with me a little in my folly, and indeed bear with me, for I am jealous over you with godly jealousy.' Be not afraid then, to read my Appeal; it is *not* written in the heat of passion or prejudice, but in that solemn calmness which is the result of conviction and duty. It is true, I am going to tell you unwelcome truths, but I mean to speak those *truths in love*; and remember, Solomon says, 'faithful are the *wounds* of a friend.' I do not believe the time has yet come when *Christian women* 'will not endure sound doctrine,' even on the subject of slavery, if it is spoken to them in tenderness and love; therefore I now address *you*.

"To all of you, then, known or unknown, relatives or strangers, (for you are all *one* in Christ), I would speak. I have felt for you at this time, when unwelcome light is pouring in upon the world on the subject of slavery,—light which even Christians would exclude, if they could, from our country, or at any rate from the southern portion of it, saying, as its rays strike the rock-bound coasts of New England, and scatter their warmth and radiance over her hills and valleys, and from thence travel onward over the Palisades of the Hudson, and down the soft flowing waters of the Delaware, and gild the waves of the Potomac,—'Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther.' I know that even professors of his name, who has been emphatically called the 'Light of the world,' would, if they could, build a wall of adamant around the southern states, whose top might reach unto heaven, in order to shut out the light which is bounding from mountain to mountain, and from the hills to the plains and valleys beneath, through the vast extent of our northern states. But believe me when I tell you, their attempts will be as utterly fruitless as were the efforts of the builders of Babel; and why? Because moral, like natural light, is so extremely subtle in its nature, as to overleap all human barriers, and laugh at the puny efforts of man to control it. All the excuses and palliations of this system must inevitably be swept away, just as other "refuges of lies" have been, by the irresistible torrent of a rectified public opinion. 'The supporters of the slave system,' says Jonathan Dymond, in his admirable work on the Principles of Morality, 'will hereafter be regarded with the *same* public feeling as he who was an advocate for the slave trade *now* is.' It will be, and that very soon, clearly perceived, and fully acknowledged by all the virtuous and the candid, that in *principle* it is as sinful to hold a human being in bondage who has been born in Carolina, as one who has been born in Africa. All that sophistry of argument which has been employed to prove, that, although it is sinful to send to Africa to procure men and women as slaves, who have never been in slavery, that still it is *not* sinful to keep those in bondage who have come down by inheritance,—will be utterly overthrown. We must come back to the good old doctrine of our forefathers, who declared to the world this self-evident truth, "that *all* men are created *equal*, and that they have certain *inalienable* rights, among which are *life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness*."* It is even a greater absurdity to suppose a man can be legally born a slave under *our free republican* government, than under the petty despotisms of barbarian Africa. If, then, we have no right to enslave an African, surely we can have none to enslave an American. If it is a self-evident truth that *all* men, everywhere and of every colour, are born equal, and have an *inalienable right to liberty*, then it is equally true that *no* man can be born a slave, and no man can ever *rightfully* be reduced to *involuntary* bond-

* Decision of American Independence, July 4, 1776.

age, and held as a slave, however fair may be the claim of his master or mistress, through wills, and title-deeds."

The fair authoress, then in a spirit of mild and courteous, but convincing argumentation, clearly proves the seven following propositions:—

First, that slavery is contrary to the declaration of American independence. Second, that it is contrary to the first charter of human rights given to Adam, and renewed to Noah. Third, that the fact of slavery having been the subject of prophecy, furnishes *no* excuse whatever to slavedealers. Fourth, that no such system existed under the patriarchal dispensation. Fifth, that *slavery never* existed under the Jewish dispensation; but so far otherwise, that every servant was placed under the *protection of law*, and care taken, not only to prevent all *involuntary* servitude, but all *voluntary perpetual* bondage. Sixth, that slavery in America reduces a *man* to a *thing*, a 'chattel personal,' *robs him of all his rights as a human being*, fetters both his mind and body, and protects the *master* in the most unnatural and unreasonable power, whilst it *throws him out* of the protection of law. Seventh, that slavery is contrary to the example and precepts of our holy and merciful Redeemer, and of his apostles."

To attempt any abridgment or analysis of this argumentation would be to break a chain beautiful only in its unity and completeness, and in enforcing it upon her fair readers, she urges them to four things:—

"1st, You can read on this subject. 2d, You can pray over this subject. 3d, You can speak on this subject. 4th, You can *act* on this subject."

Nothing that could issue from our pen would be half so touching and impressive as the Appeal of this eloquent and impassioned writer; we shall therefore merely quote a few of the concluding paragraphs; and cannot but rejoice when informed that two or three thousand copies of this Appeal have been sent into the slave states, and but few of them returned. May the blessing of God render them extensively useful!

"But you may say we are *women*, how can *our* hearts endure persecution? And why not? Have not *women* stood up in all the dignity and strength of moral courage to be the leaders of the people, and to bear a faithful testimony for the truth whenever the providence of God has called them to do so? Are there no *women* in that noble army of martyrs who are now singing the song of Moses and the Lamb? Who led out the women of Israel from the house of bondage, striking the timbrel, and singing the song of deliverance on the banks of that sea, whose waters stood up like walls of crystal, to open a passage for their escape? It was a *woman*! Miriam, the prophetess, the sister of Moses and Aaron. Who went up with Barak to Kadesh to fight against Jabin, King of Canaan into whose hand Israel had been sold because of their iniquities? It was a *woman*!—Deborah the wife of Lapidoth, the judge, as well as the prophetess of that backsliding people; Judges iv. 9. Into whose hands was Sisera, the captain of Jabin's host, delivered? Into the hand of a *woman*,—Jael, the wife of Heber! Judges vi. 21. Who dared to speak the truth concerning those judgments which were coming upon Judea, when Josiah, alarmed at finding that his people "had not kept the word of the Lord, to do after all that was written in

the book of the Law," sent to inquire of the Lord concerning these things? It was a *woman*,—Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shallum; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 22. Who was chosen to deliver the whole Jewish nation from that murderous decree of Persia's King, which wicked Haman had obtained by calumny and fraud? It was a *woman*! Esther the Queen. Yes, weak and trembling *woman* was the instrument appointed by God, to reverse the bloody mandate of the eastern monarch, and save the whole visible church from destruction. What human voice first proclaimed to Mary that she should be the mother of our Lord? It was a *woman*!—Elizabeth, the wife of Zacharias; Luke i. 42, 43. Who united with the good old Simeon in giving thanks publicly in the temple, when the child Jesus, was presented there by his parents, "and spake of him to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem?" It was a *woman*!—Anna the prophetess. Who first proclaimed Christ as the true Messiah in the streets of Samaria, once the capital of the ten tribes? It was a *woman*! Who ministered to the Son of God whilst on earth, a despised and persecuted Reformer, in the humble garb of a carpenter? They were *women*! Who followed the rejected King of Israel, as his fainting footsteps trod the road to Calvary? "A great company of people and of *women*;" and it is remarkable to them alone he turned and addressed the pathetic language, "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and your children." Ah! who sent unto the Roman Governor when he was set down on the judgment-seat, saying unto him, "Have thou nothing to do with that just man, for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him?" It was a *woman*—the wife of Pilate! Although "*he* knew that for envy the Jews had delivered Christ," yet *he* consented to surrender the Son of God into the hands of a brutal soldiery, after having himself scourged his naked body. Had the *wife* of Pilate sat upon that judgment seat, what would have been the result of the trial of this "just person?"

"And who hung round the cross of Jesus on the mountain of Golgotha? Who first visited the sepulchre early in the morning on the first day of the week, carrying sweet spice to embalm his precious body, not knowing that it was incorruptible, and could not be holden by the bands of death? These were *women*! To whom did he first appear after his resurrection? It was to a *woman*!—Mary Magdalene; Mark xvi. 6. Who gathered with the apostles to wait at Jerusalem, in prayer and supplication, for the promise of the Father;" the spiritual blessing of the Great High Priest of his Church, who had entered, not into the splendid temple of Solomon, there to offer the blood of bulls and of goats, and the smoking censer upon the golden altar, but into heaven itself, there to present his intercessions after having "given himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour?" *Women* were among that holy company; Acts i. 14. And did *women* wait in vain? Did those who had ministered to his necessities, followed in his train, and wept at his crucifixion, wait in vain? No! No! Did the cloven tongues of fire descend upon the heads of *women* as well as men? Yes, my friends, "it sat upon each of them;" Acts ii. 3. *Women*, as well as men, were to be living stones in the temple of grace, and therefore *their* heads were consecrated by the descent of the Holy Ghost, as well as those of men. Were *women* recognized as fellow-labourers in the gospel field? They were! Paul says, in his epistle to the Philippians, "help those *women* who laboured with me in the gospel;" Phil. iv. 3.

"But this is not all. Roman *women* were burnt at the stake; *their* delicate

limbs were torn joint from joint by the ferocious beasts of the Amphitheatre, and tossed by the wild bull in his fury, for the diversion of that idolatrous, warlike, and slave-holding people. Yes, *women* suffered under the ten persecutions of heathen Rome, with the most unshrinking constancy and fortitude; not all the entreaties of friends, nor the claims of new-born infancy, nor the cruel threats of enemies, could make *them* sprinkle one grain of incense upon the altars of Roman idols. Come now with me to the beautiful valleys of Piedmont. Whose blood stains the green sward, and decks the wild flowers with colours not their own, and smokes on the sword of persecuting France? It is *woman's* as well as man's! Yes, *women* were accounted as sheep from the slaughter, and were cut down as the tender saplings of the wood.

"But time would fail me to tell of those hundreds and thousands of *women* who perished in the low countries of Holland, when Alva's sword of vengeance was unsheathed against the Protestants, when the Catholic Inquisitions of Europe became the merciless executioners of vindictive wrath upon those who dared to worship God, instead of bowing down in holy adoration before "my Lord God, the Pope," and when England, too, burnt her Ann-Ascoes at the stake of martyrdom. Suffice it to say, that the Church, after having been driven from Judea to Rome, and from Rome to Piedmont, and from Piedmont to England, and from England to Holland, at last stretched her fainting wings over the dark bosom of the Atlantic; and found, on the shores of a great wilderness, a refuge from tyranny and oppression, as she thought; but even here (the warm blush of shame mantles my cheek as I write it), even here, *woman* was beaten, and banished, imprisoned, and hung upon the gallows, a trophy to the Cross!

"And what, I would ask in conclusion, have *women* done for the great and glorious cause of Emancipation? Who wrote that pamphlet which moved the heart of Wilberforce to pray over the wrongs, and his tongue to plead the cause of the oppressed African? It was a *woman*, Elizabeth Heyrick. Who laboured assiduously to keep the sufferings of the slave continually before the British public? They were *women*. And how did they do it? By their needles, paint-brushes, and pens; by speaking the truth, and petitioning Parliament for the Abolition of Slavery. And what was the effect of their labours? Read it in the Emancipation bill of Great Britain. Read it in the present state of her West India Colonies. Read it in the impulse which has been given to the cause of freedom in the United States of America. Have English women, then, done so much for the negro, and shall American women do nothing? Oh no! Already are there sixty female Anti-Slavery Societies in operation. These are doing just what the English women did: telling the story of the coloured man's wrongs; praying for his deliverance; and presenting his kneeling image constantly before the public eye on bags and needle-books, card-racks, pen-wipers, pin-cushions, &c. Even the children of the north have inscribed on their handy-work, "May the points of our needles prick the slaveholder's conscience." Some of the reports of these Societies exhibit not only considerable talent, but a deep sense of religious duty, and a determination to persevere through evil as well as good report, until every scourge and every shackle is buried under the feet of the manumitted slave.

But why, my dear friends, have I thus been endeavouring to lead you through the history of more than three thousand years, and to point you to that great cloud of witnesses who have gone before, "from works to rewards?"

out of place

Have I been seeking to magnify the sufferings and exalt the character of woman, that she "might have praise of men?" No! no! my object has been to arouse *you*, as the wives and mothers, the daughters and sisters of the South, to a sense of your duty as *women*, on that great subject which has already shaken our country from the St. Lawrence and the lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Mississippi to the shores of the Atlantic; *and will continue mightily to shake it*, until the polluted temple of slavery fall and crumble into ruin. I would say unto each one of you, "What meanest thou, O sleeper! arise and call upon thy God, if so be that God will think upon us that we perish not." Perceive you not that dark cloud of vengeance which hangs over our boasting Republic? Saw you not the lightnings of Heaven's wrath in the flame which leaped from the Indian's torch to the roof of yonder dwelling, and lighted with its horrid glare the darkness of midnight? Heard you not the thunders of Divine anger, as the distant roar of the cannon came rolling onward from the Texian country, where Protestant American rebels are fighting with Mexican Republicans—for what? For the re-establishment of Slavery; yes! of American Slavery in the bosom of a Catholic Republic, where that system of robbery, violence, and wrong had been legally abolished for seven years. Yes! citizens of the United States, after plundering Mexico of her land, are now engaged in deadly conflict for the privilege of fastening chains, and collars, and manacles—upon whom? upon the subjects of some foreign prince? No! upon native-born American Republican citizens, although the fathers of these very men declared to the whole world, while struggling to free themselves from the three-penny taxes of an English king, that they believed it to be a self-evident truth, that all men were created equal, and had an unalienable right to liberty.

Well may the poet exclaim in bitter sarcasm,

"The fustian flag that proudly waves,
In solemn mockery o'er a land of slaves."

Can you not, my friends, understand the signs of the times? Do you not see the sword of retributive justice hanging over the South, or are you still slumbering at your posts? Are there no Shiphrahs, no Puahs among you, who will dare, in Christian firmness and Christian meekness, to refuse to obey the wicked laws which require woman to enslave, to degrade, and to brutalize woman? Are there no Miriams who would rejoice to lead out the captive daughters of the Southern States to liberty and light? Are there no Huldahs there who will dare to speak the truth concerning the sins of the people, and those judgments, which it requires no prophet's eye to see, must follow, if repentance is not speedily sought? Is there no Esther among you who will plead for the poor devoted slave? Read the history of this Persian queen, it is full of instruction; she at first refused to plead for the Jews; but hear the words of Mordecai, "Think not within thyself that *thou* shalt escape in the king's house more than all the Jews, for *if thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time*, then shall there enlargement and deliverance arise to the Jews from another place: but *thou and thy father's house shall be destroyed*." Listen, too, to her magnanimous reply to this powerful appeal; "*I will go in unto the king, which is not according to law; and if I perish, I perish*." Yes! if there were but *one* Esther at the South, she *might* save her country from ruin; but let the Christian women there arise, as the Christian women of Great Britain did, in the majesty of moral power, and

that salvation is certain. Let them embody themselves in societies, and send petitions up to their different legislatures, entreating their husbands, fathers, brothers, and sons, to abolish the institution of slavery; no longer to subject woman to the scourge and the chain, to mental darkness and moral degradation; no longer to tear husbands from their wives, and children from their parents; no longer to make men, women, and children work without wages; no longer to make their lives bitter in hard bondage; no longer to reduce American citizens to the abject condition of slaves, of "chattels personal;" no longer to barter the image of God in human shambles for corruptible things such as silver and gold.

The *women of the South* can overthrow this horrible system of oppression and cruelty, licentiousness and wrong. Such appeals to your legislatures would be irresistible, for there is something in the heart of man which will bend under moral suasion. There is a swift witness for truth in his bosom, which will respond to truth when it is uttered with calmness and dignity. If you could obtain but six signatures to such a petition in only one state, I would say, send up that petition, and be not in the least discouraged by the scoffs and jeers of the heartless, or the resolution of the house to lay it on the table. It will be a great thing if the subject can be introduced into your legislatures in any way, even by *women*, and they will be the most likely to introduce it there in the best possible manner, as a matter of morals and religion, not of expediency or politics. You may petition, too, the different ecclesiastical bodies of the slave states. Slavery must be attacked with the whole power of truth and the sword of the Spirit. You must take it up on Christian ground, and fight against it with Christian weapons, whilst your feet are shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace. And *you* are now loudly called upon by the cries of the widow and the orphan, to arise and gird yourselves for this great moral conflict with the whole armour of righteousness, upon the right hand and on the left.

Another encouragement for you to labour, my friends, is, that you will have the prayers and co-operation of English and Northern philanthropists. You will never bend your knees in supplication at the throne of grace for the overthrow of slavery, without meeting there the spirits of other Christians, who will mingle their voices with yours, as the morning or evening sacrifice ascends to God. Yes, the spirit of prayer and of supplication has been poured out upon many, many hearts; there are wrestling Jacobs who will not let go of the prophetic promises of deliverance for the captive, and the opening of prison doors to them that are bound. There are Pauls who are saying, in reference to this subject, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" There are Marys sitting in the house now, who are ready to arise and go forth in this work, as soon as the message is brought, "The master is come, and calleth for thee!" And there are Marthas, too, who have already gone out to meet Jesus, as he bends his footsteps to their brother's grave, and weeps, not over the lifeless body of Lazarus bound hand and foot in grave-clothes, but over the politically and intellectually lifeless slave, bound hand and foot in the iron chains of oppression and ignorance. Some may be ready to say as Martha did, who seemed to expect nothing but sympathy from Jesus, "Lord, by this time he stinketh, for he hath been dead four days." She thought it useless to remove the stone and expose the loathsome body of her brother; she could not believe that so great a miracle could be wrought, as to raise that putrified body into life; but "Jesus said, Take ye away the stone; and when *they* had taken away the stone where the dead was laid, and uncov-

ered the body of Lazarus, then it was that "Jesus lifted up his eyes and said, Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me," &c. "And when he had thus spoken, he cried with a loud voice, Lazarus, come forth." Yes, some may be ready to say of the coloured race, How can *they* ever be raised politically and intellectually, they have been dead four hundred years? But *we* have nothing to do with how this is to be done; our business is to take away the stone which has covered up the dead body of our brother, to expose the putrid carcase, to show how that body has been bound with the grave-clothes of heathen ignorance, and his face with the napkin of prejudice, and having done all it was our duty to do, to stand by the negro's grave, in humble faith and holy hope, waiting to hear the life-giving command of "Lazarus, come forth." This is just what Anti-Slavery Societies are doing; they are taking away the stone from the mouth of the tomb of slavery, where lies the putrid carcase of our brother. They want the pure light of heaven to shine into that dark and gloomy cave; they want all men to see how that dead body has been bound, how that face has been wrapped in the napkin of prejudice; and shall they wait beside that grave in vain? Is not Jesus still the resurrection and the life? Did He come to proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of prison doors to them that are bound in vain? Did He promise to give beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness unto them that mourn in Zion, and will He refuse to beautify the mind, anoint the head, and throw around the captive negro the mantle of praise for that spirit of heaviness, which has so long bound him down to the ground? Or, shall we not rather say with the prophet, the zeal of the Lord of Hosts will perform this?" Yes, his promises are sure, and amen in Christ Jesus, that he will assemble her that halteth, and gather her that is driven out, and her that is afflicted.

Sisters in Christ, I have done. As a Southerner, I have felt it was my duty to address you. I have endeavoured to set before you the exceeding sinfulness of slavery, and to point you to the example of those noble women who have been raised up in the church to effect great revolutions, and to suffer for the truth's sake. I have appealed to your sympathies as women, to your sense of duty as Christian women. I have attempted to vindicate the Abolitionists, to prove the entire safety of immediate Emancipation, and to plead the cause of the poor and oppressed. I have done—I have sowed the seeds of truth, but I well know, that even if an Apollos were to follow in my steps to water them, "God only can give the increase." To Him, then, who is able to prosper the work of his servant's hand, I commend this appeal in fervent prayer, that as he "hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty," so He may cause his blessing to descend and carry conviction to the hearts of many Lydias through these speaking pages. Farewell—count me not your "enemy because I have told you the truth," but believe me in unfeigned affection,

Your sympathizing Friend,

ANGELINA E. GRIMKE.

Americans! Can ye not discern the signs of the times? When such thrilling sentiments are uttered, not by the tongue of a practised rhetorician, in the exciting presence of an acclaiming audience, but by a female,

a virtuous retiring female, under the simple impulse of a holy, and benevolent, and righteous cause? Are ye so blind as not to know what all this means? In your rage to degrade your peasantry into brutes, have ye banished from your *own* libraries, and your *own* memories, every trace of the revolutions which history records? Can the whole world see the doom that awaits you, and you remain the perverse and besotted victims of your own infatuation? Never, since time began, were the indications of national convulsion so clear and convincing—written with a sunbeam, which the whole world can look up and decipher—as in the present aspect of the American States. Their only hope of rescue lies in the peaceful and benign, yet vigorous efforts of the Anti-Slavery cause. This is the only rainbow of promise for the western world. If the counsels of interested politicians, and the authority of an infatuated President, shall push matters to extremities, before the friends of human kind have had time to leaven the mass of the public mind with their just and god-like principles, then will the States rise up in fearful contention with each other, and scenes of bloodshed witnessed by the fair heavens on a larger theatre than when Alexander attempted to span the world. But we bode better things, though we thus speak. The character of the American mind, and of republican society; the extent to which the principles of the religion of peace and love are diffused among them, and the long-continued habit of deferring to public opinion rather than to brute force, augur a more benign conclusion to the conflict that is now raging among them. May the great God, who holdeth the reins of universal dominion, bring this contest to such an issue as shall restore every human being to his dignity as a man, and open the way for the clear progress of the religion of justice, benevolence, and love!

SLAVERY A DIVINE INSTITUTION.

WE solicit the attention of our readers to the facts contained in the following letter. They are facts, stated by a North Carolina farmer.

Mr. Editor.—I frequently hear the assertion, and that from ministers of the gospel—"The Bible sanctions slavery." "Slavery existed in the days of our Saviour and his apostles, and it was worse than the slavery which exists among us; and the Saviour and his apostles, so far from condemning it, prescribed rules to regulate it." These are the words of a respectable Presbyterian minister, living in a populous town in one of the slaveholding states. And we find ministers of the Presbyterian church, who hold 30 or more of their fellow-mortals as goods and chattels, who are not suffered to learn to read the Bible, which sanction this "divine institution;" and ruling elders in the same church, who, for the sake of gain, make a business of driving to market immortal beings. Permit me, Mr. Editor, to give you a few extracts from a letter, written by a respectable farmer living in North Carolina, dated Jan. 8th, 1837.

"Sir, in answer to your questions, I would say, as respects the education of

blacks, I know of none that are taught to read. The Rev. J. S. A. has 30 or more, and there is not one of them that can read a word !

"I know of none that I think would liberate their slaves even if the laws of the land *would* permit. The prices are too high for slaveholders to lose eight or ten hundred dollars by giving them liberty. Some of the anti-slavery publications reach us. The ministers, to whom they are mostly directed, leave them in the Post Office. You ask, are slaves permitted to attend church? Oh, yes, Mr. — always (on the Sabbath) takes one to watch his horse and have him harnessed in the chaise by the time the benediction is pronounced. As respects missionary operations, our people are quite liberal. They will sell one soul to enable them to send the gospel to another. Some of us are very full of love for the poor heathen whom we have never seen, but the poor heathen whom we see every day, we have lost all feelings of humanity towards *them*.

"About eighteen months ago, A. H., one of the most influential elders in G—— church, bought (including some of his own raising) 28 slaves, and in the usual style, accompanied by his son, E. another member of the church, drove them to Alabama and Mississippi, and sold them. He returned home and purchased another drove of about the same quantity. This the son superintended to market last fall, and returned about six weeks ago. Both he and the father are now engaged, buying another drove for the Orleans and Mississippi market. A few days ago, the father was about purchasing a slave who had a wife and family. The slave declared he would die before he would be taken from his wife and family, and sold to the cotton planter. He was ordered off to work. Two white boys were sent after a load of wood to the place he was sent to. There they found the poor man hanging by the neck to the bough of a tree by a rope which his own hands had tied. His spirit was gone. The master had lost one thousand dollars which he was to have had on delivering him up next morning.

"The people here appear like maniacs after negroes and gold dust. The principal topic is, 'Who is giving the best price for negroes,' 'I have two, three, or more for sale,' or, 'I wish to buy two or three to work at my gold mine,' &c."

J. B. willed his black man Tom to go to Liberia, but he refused to leave his wife and children, and the heirs sold him for 400 dollars. He is fifty-eight years of age.

THE BAPTIST UNION.

At the Annual Meeting of the BAPTIST UNION, held in Devonshire Square Chapel, London, on Thursday, May 4th, the following resolution, on the motion of the Rev. Dr. Price, seconded by the Rev. W. Brock, of Norwich, was unanimously agreed to:—

"I. THAT this Meeting regard with high approbation in point of principle, and with sincere congratulation in point of success, the operations undertaken in the United States for the abolition of slavery ; that they deeply sympathize with the American Abolitionists in the difficulties with which they have to contend, as arising especially from the attitude of the highest authorities in the States ; but that they desire heartily to cheer them on in an attempt which has never been made without awakening appalling opposition, and can never be persevered in without signal success.

"II. That a letter to the Baptist churches in America be prepared forthwith, earnestly imploring them to give, without delay, all the benefit of their active and zealous co-operation to the labours of those enlightened philanthropists in the United States, who are endeavouring to free their country from the reproach and guilt which are involved in a maintenance of their slave system."

The Rev. W. Brock, in seconding the above Resolutions, expressed himself thus:—In discharging the duty, sir, which is thus devolved upon me, I beg the attention of the meeting to the phraseology of this motion. We are about to address the church of America; to call upon the Americans—not so much as men as Christians—to beseech them to adopt a certain course of conduct, by the love which they owe to the Saviour of mankind. And thus we are avoiding a charge which sometimes has been made, that we are interfering with the political, with the inter-national affairs of America. We are doing no such thing; unless, indeed, most indirectly, by causing those who constitute the Church of Christ, to exercise the privileges which they legitimately possess. It is with the church that we remonstrate, and, for the present at least, with the church alone. And, sir, we are about to remonstrate, and to entreat our Christian brethren to do what they can in a constitutional manner. They tell us, themselves, that Congress cannot abolish slavery—that each state must act for itself. Now, this being the fact, their duty, we conceive, is clear; and our task, in urging them to its discharge, is clear too. Let them, sir, use their influence upon all who solicit their suffrages, at every election; let them say to every candidate, in relation to slavery, what each of us means to say to our candidates, in relation to Church-rates, "Are you resolved upon its abolition—upon its utter, its unqualified, its immediate abolition; because, if not, you are not my man?" Let them make up their minds to push this question, and to act consistently with themselves; and thus, although they may not soon succeed, they will deserve a similar eulogium to that which our Lord pronounced upon the women: "They have done what they could." But, sir, they must succeed; despite Van Buren's oracular and presidential opposition, they must succeed. I hold in my hand his inaugural address, in which I find he avows himself "the inflexible and uncompromising opponent" of the abolitionists. I should like to stand front to front with Van Buren, in order to remind him of a few things, which, to our minds, are especially dear. I believe the Duke of Wellington once declared himself "the inflexible and uncompromising opponent" of reform. And he was a firm and inflexible opponent, sir; but somehow we have reform. Thanks to the indomitable spirit of the British people, we have reform. I believe Mr. Canning once declared himself "the inflexible and uncompromising opponent" of the Test and Corporation Act repeal; and he was an inflexible man. But, despite his inflexibility, those unrighteous acts were repealed. Thanks to the indomitable spirit of Christian principle, the sacred rite of our religion is no longer "an office key, a picklock to a place." I believe a certain party in the West Indies once declared themselves "the inflexible and uncompromising opponents" of the missionary cause. And verily by their acts they showed themselves to be inflexible men. But the missionary cause is still existing there. Thanks to a gracious Providence, the men who denounced our missionaries—the men who demolished our chapels—are constrained to hold their peace, or, what is better, to join in the support of the cause which they once resolved to destroy. I believe there was an English king who once declared himself "the inflexible and uncompromising opponent"

of the advancing tide ; and as, invested with all the paraphernalia of British royalty, he seated himself in majesty on the shore, he seemed to be an inflexible man. But, somehow, the tide advanced and reduced him to the extremely awkward dilemma of yielding his inflexibility, or of being destroyed by the power which he had defied. Thus, Sir, precisely thus, will Van Buren. He has deemed it right to imitate Canute in the occupation of his position, and he will doubtless be compelled to imitate him by abandoning it without much delay. The stern magnificence of the republican President will no more be able to resist the rising of American emotion and of American resolve, than was the gaudier magnificence of the English monarch able to resist the advancing tide. The tide of American emotion is rising—already it toucheth the feet of the haughty republican ; and, urged onwards by Christian principle, and sustained by the power of God, unless he retire it will overwhelm him in ruinous disgrace. To contribute to that emotion—to assist in counterworking Van Buren's inflexibility—to secure the emancipation of every slave in the United States, is the object of the resolution which I now second with all my heart.

ADDRESS OF THE BRISTOL ASSOCIATION OF BAPTIST CHURCHES.

The following address was unanimously adopted by the parties on whose behalf it is signed, on Thursday, May 18th, 1837 :—

The ministers and messengers of the Bristol Association of Baptist churches, met at Providence Chapel, Westbury-Leigh, Wilts, May 17th and 18th, 1837, to the members of the same denomination, in the United States of America, who are associated with Abolitionists of that country, for the deliverance of the slaves and coloured people from Slavery and oppression.

Christian Brethren,

Many of you have learnt from the resolution of our last anniversary meeting, that we cordially sympathize in the sentiments of great numbers of our countrymen respecting the monstrous system of slavery, and its attendant evils, still existing in so many states of your otherwise favoured and happy republic. We had been accustomed to refer to the rapid multiplication and prosperity of the churches of our denomination in the United States, as a striking exemplification of the evidence borne by Scripture in favour of its distinguishing peculiarities, and of the extent to which they may be reasonably expected to prevail, wherever the principles of Christianity and the rights of men shall be fully recognized. You may appreciate our astonishment and grief when we learnt that so large a portion of these churches and their pastors are not merely the apologists of this atrocious system, but its administrators and participants in its revolting and tremendous responsibilities. We felt as if the denomination, so providentially and so signally honoured in the persons of its missionaries, as a means of hastening the downfall of negro slavery in the British dependencies, was especially called upon to purge themselves from any participation in the guilt of its abettors, wherever found, by making common cause with the abolitionists of America.

With this view we unanimously adopted the resolutions of last year, and it

affords us great pleasure to find that our associations generally entertained the same feeling, and adopted a similar mode of expressing it. We have learnt, with much satisfaction, that this demonstration has contributed to induce many of our brethren openly to plead for the deliverance of the oppressed. Our satisfaction would have been greatly increased, had all the churches among you, not personally implicated in its evils, evinced their sense of justice and religion, by protesting against the revolting abomination, and joining in the cry for its extinction. Their not having done so is a powerful reason for our again adverting to the painful subject, and assuring you of the delight which your conduct, under circumstances so trying to your integrity and consistency, has afforded us. We devoutly pray, and confidently hope, that every succeeding year may witness accessions to your number, and that complete and speedy success may crown your efforts.

We deeply sympathize in the increasing embarrassments and new sources of discouragement which recent political demonstrations must occasion to you and your coadjutors ; but we wish to assure you that we are far from auguring that they will retard or diminish the success that awaits you. Be not dismayed by the unseemly manner in which you have been denounced to your countrymen by those who, from their station and responsibilities, ought to have been superior to party prejudice, and, by the influence necessarily accompanying their office, to allay, instead of fomenting, the animosities raging around them. Suffer not the violence of your traducers, to betray you into measures in any respect inconsistent with the heaven-descended principles on which your cause is founded, and which, partaking of the immortality and omnipotence of their Divine Author, will live and triumph when your persecutors shall have been forgotten. To be branded as the enemies of your country, and as unworthy of the respect and confidence of your fellow-citizens, simply because you are the friends of the oppressed, is an honour for which you may be grateful, since, in all ages, and countries, it has attached to many who are now regarded as the greatest benefactors of their species, and the lights and ornaments of the world. Our best sympathies and most fervent prayers attend you. Strong in the justice of your cause, and assured of the approbation of the Most High, we trust that the increasing difficulties of your position will only prompt you to more vigorous and persevering efforts for the attainment of the object on which your hearts are set, and we doubt not that you shall assuredly reap if you faint not.

Signed on their behalf, at the unanimous request

of the Association,

SHEM EVANS,

Moderator.

The Resolutions of the Worcestershire, and other Associations, in our next.

OPPRESSION.

And, marvellous though it seem, this monster, when
 It took the name of slavery, as oft
 It did, had advocates to plead its cause ;
 Beings that walked erect, and spoke like men ;
 Of Christian parentage descended too,
 And dipped in the baptismal font, as sign
 Of dedication to the Prince who bowed
 To death, to set the sin-bound prisoner free.

Slavery in America.

No. XIII.—JULY, 1837.

ADDRESS TO THE READER ON THE CONDITION OF THE APPRENTICES IN OUR COLONIES.

THIS publication was undertaken principally with a view to awaken attention to the fact, that in the republican States of America, and among the Christian Churches in that land, **SLAVERY**, with all its train of abominations and curses, was not only permitted to exist, but even palliated and justified from the press, the platform, and the pulpit; and the Scriptures themselves called in to defend the system. Upon the passing of the Abolition Act in this country, having, as we supposed, washed our hands of all participation in the foul crime, we found ourselves in circumstances, and it was equally the dictate of principle and benevolence, to look abroad, and exert our energies for its destruction wherever in other countries it had struck its pestilential roots. But we now find ourselves mistaken. *Slavery*, under another name, still exists in our own colonies; and whatever disgrace it may attach to our country, the world must know that the twenty millions which this country has paid, was not for the extinction of Slavery, but for the change of its name. The narrative of **JAMES WILLIAMS**, which is attached to the present number, and which cannot be read without a mixture of horror and disgust, fully confirms the suspicion long entertained, that the system is not dead, nor does it even sleep; but that slavery at the present moment, with all its attendant horrors and wrongs, its accumulated miseries and wretchedness, exists in undisturbed dominion in our own colonies, and among the subjects of our own Queen. Before we pretend therefore to take out the mote from our brother's eye, we must take out the beam from our own. America will not receive a lesson from us, regarding a crime of which we ourselves are

equally guilty. And mortifying as it may be, and however paralyzing to the friends of the Negro in other lands, the facts of the case must be published, and known to the world.

Be it known, therefore, that when the government of Britain passed the great Abolition Act, by paying twenty millions as the price of the negroes' ransom, and for which they have had the plaudits of all the civilized world, the legislators of our country had power enough to extract the money out of the pockets of the British people, but had *not* power enough, or principle enough, to *carry their own laws into execution*. Slavery, while dead in law, still lives in practice. The people have been duped, most miserably duped; and the poor victims abroad will be sacrificed to the Moloch of oppression, if we do not instantly arise and demand that the contract shall be regarded by the planter as the terms of it have been fulfilled by the English people. The conviction, long since entertained by the enlightened advocate of the oppressed, is forced upon us with irresistible power, that *Slavery is a thing impossible to mend*: there must be Slavery in all its entirety, or no slavery at all. There is no middle process—no graduating step. Every man must be his own master, or subject to the unrestrained dominion of another. The system of slavery is so antisocial and disorganizing, so effectually eats out the very vitals of sound principle, that no foreign legislature can ever reach (to any practical purpose) those who are under its blighting, and pestilential influence. It so brutalizes both master and slave, as to throw both of them beyond the power of public opinion to reach, or of laws to control.

The case is therefore clearly before the religious public of Great Britain. Either the poor emaciated slave must wear out the remainder of his bondage under a slow process of murder, many of them never to see the auspicious morning of freedom; or we must arouse ourselves, and raise again that anti-slavery agitation which obtained the abolition law of 1834. Can we reconcile ourselves coolly to look on, with a full knowledge of these facts before our eyes, and see these victims of oppression, whose ransom we have so dearly purchased, ground down to death in the house of bondage? It must not be!

That agency which abolished Slavery in *law*, must again be resuscitated to abolish it in *fact*. And the present is the most favourable moment for effecting this high purpose. We are on the eve of a general election as we were when the nation was aroused on a former occasion. Our representatives must be told that the cursed apprenticeship-scheme is nothing but slavery in disguise—that it must be forthwith abandoned. The dissenter must forget his grievances, or at least hold them in comparative abeyance; the proud heritor of the national glory must be told that his country is disgraced by making laws, which those for whom they are made, laugh at rather than obey; the reformer must see to it, that what he has already achieved is carried into effect before he aims at other objects.

We call then upon our Anti-slavery Societies, one and all, to re-organize themselves. They have been cheated out of the result of their former labours, and they must *to work again*. Arduous and disheartening as the labour may be, it must be done. The lives of thousands, and the comforts of tens of thousands are at stake. The last year of the apprenticeship will be by far the worst of all. When the tyrant can get no more out of his slave, he will have no motive for mercy. His last stripe will reach the heart. Again, we implore our fellow Christians to rise, and to demand that the benign purposes of the abolition law may be carried into effect. Already have Liverpool, Birmingham, and Glasgow responded to the call. In a few days a Public Meeting will be held in London, when we implore every friend to the honour of his country, and every man having a spark of compassion for the oppressed and heart-broken among his fellow creatures, to lend the aid of his presence and support. The disclosures which Mr. Sturge (the Howard of the age) and others will then make, must awaken zeal in the most torpid heart, and utter a voice which the colonial office of our country will not dare to stifle or disregard.

Should any be disposed to urge that it is not worth while to petition *now*, as the period of full emancipation is so near at hand, let him read the following Address signed by fifteen of our Missionaries, and presented to Mr. Sturge just before he left the island of Jamaica. They know the facts and the urgency of the case, and are men whose character and whose credit is far beyond the shafts of calumny to reach.—What is their language?

“We cannot refrain expressing our deliberate opinion of the total unfitness of the apprenticeship system as an act of preparation for freedom; and that it is to the unparalleled patience of the apprentices, and not to its tolerant spirit, that the present peaceful and prosperous state of the island is attributable.

“To you we unhesitatingly declare our belief, that this mockery of freedom is worthless as a preparation for that state to which it can have no possible affinity; that, while it represses the energy of the negro, it has rendered him distrustful of the British public, by whom he considers himself to have been cheated by a name; that it has entailed, and is still entailing, excessive suffering, especially on the mother, and her helpless and unavoidably neglected offspring; and that, to secure its termination, no effort can be considered too great.

“We, do therefore, most earnestly entreat you, on your return to your native land, to exert your influence to effect the total abandonment of this system in 1838.

“But if every effort fail in procuring the abolition of the term of apprenticeship to the predial apprentices, that those advantages may at least be secured to them to which they are entitled by the provisions, imperfect as they are, of the Act for the Abolition of Slavery.

“We further urge you to watch with vigilance any law which may be introduced in the Imperial Parliament, or passed by any of the colonial legislatures, to curtail the liberty of the negro after the termination of the present sys-

tem ; and any enactments of a restrictive and oppressive nature, calculated to keep them more degraded than any others of their fellow-subjects for one moment beyond that period.

"Your own observations in this colony must, we think, have convinced you that the costly apparatus by which it was intended to secure a measure of protection to the negro, is in many instances made instrumental in carrying on a system of coercion and oppression as odious as that from which he was intended to be freed.

"We cannot but express our regret at the apathy manifested of late by some of those friends in England, who so long and so zealously exerted themselves in behalf of the injured sons and daughters of Africa, and must consider that the responsibility rests on them, who have the power to obtain justice for this still injured people, for any consequences that may take place ; meanwhile we shall continue to exert our influence to tranquillize their minds under every disappointment, and to induce them to bear with patience the wrongs they are called upon to suffer.

"Is the abridgment of suffering such as we know to be inflicted, by the space of *two years*—the abridgment of it by that period to so large a number of our fellow-creatures—not worth being in earnest about? I envy not any man the possession of a heart that allows him to think or say so. Were it *months* instead of years we should do what in us lies to effect the deliverance. If we do not succeed, we at least enjoy the satisfactory reflection of having done our duty."

TO BRITAIN.

Britain slaveholder still ? Well does the name
Comport with deeds of honour and of fame !
And is it thus ?—and dost thou know it is,
Yet shrinkest not to bear a stain like this ?
Thou didst, thou *dost* ; and with a boon wouldst buy
The heaven-sent gift of natal liberty !
But thou hast bought its *title*, not itself,
For still thy sons are hoarding human pelf,
Content to *double* cheat thee—of thy gold,
And, of the freedom they so basely sold !

Arouse thee from thy lethargy. Why sleep
Thy boasting senators o'er crimes so deep ?
What were *they* bandied round from hand to hand,
No home to shelter in a tyrant-land ;
The minions of some despot-driver's nod,
Without a guardian, 'most without a God !
What were *they* doomed to bear the horrid lash,
Each thong a stroke, and every stroke a gash ?
What were *they* severed from some valued heart,
Till every snapping fibre seem'd to start,
Wounding as wounded ;—and each wound a pain
That life would sink beneath, if tried again ?

Oh, there are sorrows in a negro's tear,
That lifeless apathy would writhe to hear!
Yet, Britain, thou dost mock, with pageant-pride,
A spot that leprodisizes all beside!

Weep, if thy eyes are marbled not;—and own
The God-heard echo of a negro's groan!
True sympathy is feeling *with*—then *for*;
The *eye* must *see*, before the *hand* can *draw*;
The *head* must *know* before the *heart* can *feel*;
Look, then, and weep;—and while thou weepest kneel,
That all the millions of the slaughtered dead,
Rise not, to breathe their curses o'er thy head!

But long this stigma will not blot thy page;
The present shame, disgust the future, age;
Britannia cannot smile when blood is spilt,
Nor dye her hands in never-dying guilt;
Nor where our banner in its proudness waves,
VICTORIA'S name resound, THE QUEEN OF SLAVES!

T. S. E.

FOREIGN SLAVE TRADE.

No. IV.

AMERICA.

Having in previous numbers reviewed the state of our slave trade treaties with all the governments of the continent of Europe and in the South American States, we now turn to the United States of North America, and as briefly as possible, state what has been done in regard to the abolition of the slave trade in this quarter of the globe. Here, the direful curse of slavery is not confined to distant colonies, nor the traffic in men, women, and children, carried on in distant coasts only, but slavery exists in her very bosom, and the accursed trade in mankind, is carried on here, on the same terms, and with as little compunction, as the trade in the beasts of the field, or in the productions of the soil. Slavery and the Slave-Trade exist in most of the States, and both are protected and fostered by them all. Of her domestic slavery, and of the buying and selling of her own subjects, however, it is not intended to treat in these pages, but to confine them to statements regarding the African branch of her slave trade.

No fewer than nine acts, having for their ostensible object the abolition of the foreign slave trade, have been passed by the Legislature of the United States, between the 22nd of March, 1794, and the 5th of May, 1820; that of the earliest date prohibited "the carrying on of the slave-trade to any foreign place or country;" and that of the last date declared the slave-trade to be piracy, and affixed the punishment of death to the crime. Thus all that can be effected by mere enactments, appears to have been done, but still the American slave-trade has flourished on the African coast. How is this? Some solution of the question may perhaps be found in the state of her treaties with this country.

The senate of the United States appeared at one period to have entertained a similar opinion ; for in the year 1807 they adopted the following resolution, viz :—

“That the committee, to whom was referred the petition of the committee of the yearly meeting of the Society of Friends at Baltimore, be instructed to inquire into the expediency of so amending the laws of the United States on the subject of the African slave-trade, as more effectually to prevent the said trade from being carried on by the citizens of the United States under foreign flags ; and also into the expediency of the *United States taking measures, in concert with other nations, for the entire abolition of the said trade.*”

From the spirit evinced by this resolution, hopes were entertained that the government of America might be induced to enter into a treaty with this country for the suppression of the slave-trade, and that the important measure of a mutual right of search might be agreed to,—a measure which appeared to afford the only means of securing the effectual execution of the laws already passed for that purpose. Accordingly, in June, 1818, Lord Castlereagh addressed a letter to Mr. Rush, the American minister in London, stating the necessity which existed for some effectual concert being established amongst the principal maritime powers, to prevent their respective flags being made a cover for an illicit slave trade, and showing, that whatever might be the state of the law on this subject, the evil would continue to exist ; and that in proportion as it assumed a contraband form, would be carried on under the most aggravated circumstances of cruelty and desolation. His lordship referred to the treaties already concluded with other powers for this purpose, and urged on the attention of the American government the advantages to be derived from their acceding to a mutual right of search. To this despatch, an answer was returned in the following December, by order of the President, which stated, that the American government was desirous of a total abolition of the foreign slave-trade, but declined to enter into any treaty for its suppression. Year after year has the illicit American slave-trade continued to flourish ; and year after year, have the advances made by this country for a treaty for affording mutual facilities for its suppression, met with like failure. The last effort was made in concert with the King of France, who joined the British government in inviting America to accede to the conventions lately concluded between the two former powers ; with how little success, the following letter from the French minister to Earl Granville will show. It is a remarkable document in the history of the slave trade : it is as follows, viz. :—

Paris, 11th January, 1835.

M. L'AMBASSADEUR.—I received with the letter which your excellency did me the honour to write to me on the 3d inst., copies of two despatches and of their enclosures, from the minister of his Britannic Majesty at Washington, relative to the refusal of the American government to accede to the Conventions between France and Great Britain for the repression of the slave trade.

The Cabinet of his Britannic Majesty will doubtless agree with us in considering, that any further effort to induce the government of the United States to accede to these Conventions, as offering for the present at least, no chance of success.

(Signed) “DE RIGNY.”

Thus the government of America is the only civilized government on record which has refused, and that too on a mere point of etiquette, to make a concession to the universal desire of all Christian men; and has positively declared that "under no condition, in no form, and with no restrictions, will the United States enter into any convention or treaty, or make any combined efforts, of any sort or kind, with other nations for the suppression of a traffic" which she has denounced as piracy, and declared those engaged in it to be worthy of death.

The result is natural.—Private advices from the coast state, that already is the American flag taking place of the Spanish and French flags, which are fast disappearing in consequence of the late treaties. In a short time, therefore, it is probable, that the flag of America will cover the whole of the slave trade.

For the foregoing hasty glance at the steps which have been taken by the English government for the suppression of the traffic in man, we are principally indebted to the publications of the Anti-Slavery Society; the reflections which arise from the review are of the most melancholy character. That such efforts should be necessary to prevent man from being the oppressor and murderer of his fellow man, presents a woful picture of human nature; and that the efforts which the philanthropists of Britain have made should after all be attended with scarcely any permanently good effects, shows how much more potent man is to evil than he is to good. But of all the melancholy and sickening views which the benevolent mind can take of this affair, is, that the system is carried on, and that too on its widest basis, and most malignant character, by men with the Bible in their hand; and the words justice, righteousness and mercy, issuing from their lips! This exhibition of incongruities however is happily confined to one spot. There is only one nation under heaven that we know, professing to feel and act out the evangelical truths of the Bible, have ever tried to mix up such opposites as the gospel and slavery. This is however attempted on a very large scale in the Southern States of America. A cowskin or whip in one hand, and a Bible in the other—teaching for the good of the soul one day, and selling both body and soul the next—inculcating the relative duties, and then violently rending them asunder for mere gain, are objects not transacted in the back regions, out of the notice and beyond the reprobation of intelligent and reflecting men, but in their towns and cities—yea, within sight of their very capitol, and under the very eye of their legislators. O! if there are any sights upon earth that might tempt the infernal spirits from their dungeons to witness and to rejoice over, surely it must be the exhibition of such bare-faced hypocrisy, and such horrid inconsistency!

But we shall be told that the Americans have long since by law abolished the African Slave Trade:—so far, they did well. But what was their motive in doing this? Is it not evident that it arose from no conviction of the moral obliquity of the practice, not from any high sense of national justice and honour; but from the low and sordid dictates of convenience. If the former had been the motive, why do they now stand out as almost if not the only nation under heaven who refuse to co-operate with Britain in the annihilation of the traffic; why do they not go hand in hand with us in this high moral enterprise? We ask nothing of them on the high seas which we are not willing to concede in return; we should inflict upon them an ordeal to which we are not most willing

to subject ourselves : and therefore it can be no feeling of national pride or jealousy. Is it not evident, that to the slave system itself they are wedded by an indissoluble bond ; and that every interference with it, direct or indirect, shall be watched with an eagle's eye ?

But what credit can a nation gain for the annihilation of the foreign slave trade, when what is ludicrously called the *domestic* slave trade, is carried on by law, and to an indefinite extent ? What a pitiable relief to a broken-hearted husband, or wife, or parent, to know that the object of affection is not taken beyond the wide seas ; that the man-stealer is not a foreigner but a native ! What a chilling consolation to see that the cofle of manacled and soul-stricken relatives are not put into a large slave-ship and carried to another continent, but into a flat-bottomed long boat, conveyed along the streams of the Mississippi, and only landed in another State ! The hope of ever seeing each other again is just as desperate in the one case as in the other—The separation is for life in each ; and when these separations do take place, they are almost always destined to a southern latitude, where it is known to every disconsolate parent, that the servitude is more severe, the treatment more cruel, and the hope of ransom more hopeless.

To object to the foreign slave-trade therefore, on any considerations of morality, or justice, or feeling of any kind or degree, and to indulge in such brutal practices as these, is most obviously to strain at a gnat and to swallow a camel. Yea, it is worse ; it is doing that to their own countrymen, to their own servants, to their fellow-worshippers in the same temple, to the professors of the same faith and hope, that which they will not do to the uncivilized natives of another continent. When will this people, the admiration of the world in many things, see this their national sin, and wash their hands of so foul a disgrace ?

A review of the negociations for the suppression of the slave trade compels us also to the melancholy conclusion, that to expect to extinguish slavery by cutting off the supply of slaves, is utterly futile and hopeless. If ever the trade in African slaves is annihilated, it must be by cutting off the market for them. Nothing less than the extinction of slavery will ever stop the slave trade. This is a conviction to which almost every enlightened philanthropist, as the result of a long and expensive process, has at length arrived. To attempt to stop the trade while such a nation as America, with her almost boundless shores and innumerable harbours, winks at the traffic, and refuses to subject her flag to any inspection, is a wasteful expenditure of property and effort. The combined fleet of Europe, and the whole property of the world could not effect it. No : we must expend our energies in another direction. We must appeal to their honour—to their sense of right and wrong—to their justice—to their religion—to their conscience. We must shame them out of practices fit only for savages, and the barbarous ages of the world. We must teach them by our example and by argument that the system is just as injurious to their interests as it is disgraceful to their character ; that it is a mighty obstruction to their spiritual welfare, and to the progress of the gospel ; that to attempt to bolster up the system by preventing discussion, by persecution, or gagging the press, is worthy only the meridian of Rome, or a college of Cardinals. And if we are permitted to do nothing else we will pray for them and weep over them ; and earnestly watch the efforts of those of her enlightened children who see their national sin ; and are in earnest in attempting to wipe it from the national conscience.

ANNEXATION OF TEXAS TO THE UNITED STATES.

The readers of English newspapers cannot be entirely ignorant of the movements which have recently taken place in regard to this portion of the Mexican republic. It has frequently been introduced into our senate; and whether regarded in its political or its moral aspect, is an affair in which no man who is adequately alive to the character and progress of society, ought or can feel uninterested.

Whatever pleasure is enjoyed at the diffusion of knowledge, and civilization, and religion, among any portions of the human family, must of necessity be reversed; when we see a host of cruel marauders break in upon an unoffending state, introduce among them by force habits of lawless violence, robbery, and murder, extend the range of oppression and injustice, and throw back to an almost indefinite period all hope of rescuing the human family from the crime and curse of slavery.

Especially is this change in the political relations of this part of the world all-important to the United States, as it is of sufficient extent to partition off into six or eight states, each of which would be based upon the slave system, and each send its representatives to Congress, thus throwing the balance of power most completely in favour of slave-holding and despotic measures.

We have for some time wished to introduce this subject before our readers, but the history of it embraces such a length of time and such a multitude of contingent events, as to have rendered it out of our power to compress it into the limits which our pages would admit. The great moral cause of the revolution is however so admirably brought out in the following article from the *OHIO PHILANTHROPIST* edited by J. G. Birney, Esq. that it supersedes the necessity of any labour of ours; and it moreover is important that the aspect and leaning of the American government towards the slave question should be known to all the world, that it may take its proper place in the category of nations, at the head of the arbitrary and despotic sovereignties of the world; a people that "frame mischief by a law;" that have "used oppression, and exercised robbery, and have vexed the poor and needy; yea, have oppressed the stranger wrongfully." This is their character among all nations who know what true liberty is, and who have learned that first lesson in Christian morals, "to do to others as we should wish others to do to us."

It may be necessary to state to some of our readers, that Texas is a part of the great continent of North America, immediately contiguous to the United States. It is that portion of the Mexican territory comprised between the Mouths and the Sources of the Sabine, Rio del Norte, and Arkansas, or Red Rivers. It is bounded on the east and north-east by

Louisiana and Arkansas ; on the west and south-west by the Mexican States of Coahuila, Tamaulipas, and New Mexico ; on the south by the Gulf of Mexico ; and on the north by the Red River.

From the Ohio Philanthropist, April 28th.

Report of the Committee of the Harrisburgh Convention, on the relations of the United States and Texas.

Considering this subject as one of the highest importance at the present moment, your Committee have deemed it advisable to give it a thorough investigation ; and in doing so, they have found it necessary to recur to the proceedings of those concerned in it as far back as the period of the termination of the "Missouri Contest."—This is, indeed, absolutely requisite to furnish a correct idea of the subject in all its bearings. It shall be done, however, as concisely as the nature of things connected with it will permit.

From various public documents and well authenticated statements now before your Committee, they gather the following important facts and circumstances :

The question of separating the Territory of Texas from the republic of Mexico, for the especial purpose of *adding strength to the slaveholding party in the United States*, was not distinctly acted upon (though long entertained by many) until the year 1820. By the decision of Congress, in the admission of Missouri to the rank of a state in this confederacy, the system of slavery was positively interdicted in all the remaining territory in the United States above the line of 36 degrees and 30 minutes of north latitude. This narrowed down the region, in which the establishment of new slave states was contemplated, to the circumscribed limits of Arkansas and Florida. As the slaveholders foresaw that, in process of time, the numerical strength of the free states would balance that of the slaveholding states in the national councils, even with the advantage they possessed of voting by proxy for three-fifths of their human "property," they now resolved to obtain the territory of Texas, to preserve their preponderating influence, if it should be in their power.

The first conspicuous advocate of this measure, who took a decided stand upon the principle aforesaid, was a distinguished political writer in Missouri. He treated largely upon the subject, and his sentiments were extensively promulgated by the press in all the slaveholding states, &c. Many others, without distinction of political party, soon united with him in attempting, by various means, to impress on the minds of the slaveholders the necessity of the acquisition of Texas. But as no legal claim to this territory could be sustained by this government, efforts were made to obtain a cession of it from Mexico, for a pecuniary consideration. This overture was promptly rejected by the Mexican authorities, and other means were devised for the accomplishment of the object.

Previous to this period, several persons from the United States had obtained extensive grants of land from the Mexican government, for the establishment of settlements in Texas, and every exertion was now made, to throw in a population that would favour the slaveholding interest.—The system of slavery had been abolished throughout Mexico ; but these new settlers, proceeding mostly from the adjoining slaveholding states, evaded the laws relating to this subject with impunity, in consequence of internal difficulties then existing in the Mexican Republic.

At length the settlers and adventurers applied to the General Government of Mexico for the privilege of organizing a state within the limits of Texas. They generally, though privately avowed the intention of re-establishing the system of slavery, in contravention of the national laws. Their application was rejected ; and they soon thereafter took up arms and declared their independence of the Mexican republic. Many individuals and military companies, strongly armed and equipped, proceeded immediately from the United States, to participate in the contest :—and by a fortuitous circumstance (the capture of the chief commander of the Mexican forces) they have been enabled to maintain their ground for a time. By their own statements, we learn that their army consists almost wholly of citizens of this country. Influential slaveholders have made great exertions to furnish means, both in men and money, to promote the insurrection ; while the insurgents have adopted a constitution, legalizing slavery in its most horrible forms. They have also proposed an immediate acknowledgment of their assumed government, and its union with the states of this Confederacy. In addition to these views of the subject before us, we must not omit to notice the following facts and circumstances :—The slaveholders are seconded in their efforts by the great land speculators in our free states, in the hope of realizing immense fortunes by the most extensive swindling operations. The slave-trade with the inhabitants of the United States having been declared legal by the insurgents, and an extensive market for slaves being thus opened, a powerful impulse is given to both the American and foreign traffic in human flesh. The pecuniary profits of this traffic set at defiance all laws enacted by the different Christian nations for its suppression. Slaves from the African coast are frequently taken into the Texas country, as well as Louisiana, by way of Cuba. The high prices offered for them also encourage the practice of kidnapping free coloured persons in the United States ; and even in the cities of Philadelphia. and New York, regular establishments are kept up for the incarceration of its victims, and the barter of human blood and souls.

Your committee is thus fully warranted in asserting, from evidence abundant and conclusive, that the proposal for the recognition of the independence of Texas, and its annexation to the United States, is a grand scheme of the slaveholding party in this country to extend their power and perpetuate the atrocities of their oppressive system with all its abominations, to an indefinite period.—And they conclude with the recommendation that this Convention enter its solemn protest against the measure, as one calculated to injure the cause of humanity, retard the glorious work of reformation, and endanger the peace and tranquillity of the United States.

The following resolutions and memorial are also submitted to the Convention for its consideration and adoption.

B. LUNDY, Chairman.

Resolved, That all Anti-Slavery Societies, and friends of the cause, throughout the United States, be requested to use proper exertions for the dissemination of correct information upon the subject of the contemplated re-establishment of slavery in Texas, &c.—and also that they endeavour to impress upon the minds of the people, generally, a sense of the danger which menaces our free institutions from that source.

Resolved, That the following memorial and remonstrance be presented to the Congress of the United States, at as early a period as may be practicable, during the present session of that body.

MEMORIAL

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled.

The memorial of the Convention for the formation of an Anti-Slavery Society for the state of Pennsylvania, assembled at Harrisburg, respectfully sheweth:

That your memorialists have learned with sorrow and alarm, that a proposition is now before your honourable body, to recognise the independence of the government assumed to be established by the insurgents of Texas. Against this measure your memorialists, in behalf of themselves, of the thousands whom they represent, and of the principles long cherished by the people of Pennsylvania; in the name of liberty, justice, and humanity, enter their solemn and united protest.

Facts, incontrovertible, which have come to the knowledge of your memorialists, warrant the belief that the insurrection in Texas has been aided by citizens in these United States: That its main object—the grand cause of the movement as evinced by the sentiments and conduct of its advocates, and by the very condition of their assembled Government, is the RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF DOMESTIC SLAVERY—the re-opening of an immense Slave Market—to set up anew the shambles for human flesh where the abhorrent traffic had been arrested and abolished by the legitimate authorities of Mexico—and finally, to annex the territory to the United States:—From a regard to the national honour—for the character of the age in which we live—for their obligations to posterity—and above all to the God of justice, your memorialists feel themselves called upon as Pennsylvanians, the representatives of freemen and Christians, to offer their remonstrance against any act, on the part of the country of which they are citizens, which shall sanction or recognize a government which owes its origin to the base and unallowed purpose of re-establishing slavery on the soil of liberty.

Your memorialists, therefore, respectfully but earnestly entreat your honourable body, to reject the proposition for the recognition of the Government assumed to be established by the insurgents of Texas, as well as all attempts that may be made to connect it with the United States. And as in duty bound, &c.

Signed in and on behalf of the Convention.

F. JULIUS LEMOYNE, *President.*

The preceding article appears to have been drawn up previous to the election of the President, and the assembling of the Congress. The following is from the "*PHILADELPHIA NATIONAL ENQUIRER*," written immediately after the recognition of the Texian States by the American Government, and expresses in indignant language the feelings of the right-minded patriots of that country on this disgraceful transaction.

The deed is done! Notwithstanding all that has been said, and written, and printed; notwithstanding it has been clearly proven that the Declaration of Independence in Texas was the work of a *lawless, marauding banditti from the United States*; notwithstanding this was known to the government, and the great mass of the people of this Union; and although a majority of our senators in Congress were thoroughly impressed with the truth of this, and were decidedly opposed to the recognition of the sovereignty of the *PIRATE POWER*;

yet, in the face of all this, our honest citizens have been deceived and betrayed by their representatives! the *Slaveholding Usurpers* have carried their point!! the nation is committed in support of their monstrous crime, disgraced in the eyes of the world, and subjected to the vengeance of unerring justice!!!

Our paper of last week had but just gone to press, when the surprising news was received that the senate of the United States had passed Walker's resolutions, *acknowledging the Independence of Texas*, by a vote of 23 to 19! Every item of previous information from Washington had led to an opposite conclusion. It was well understood that a plurality of senators were opposed to the measure. And yet when it came to a decision, it resulted as above mentioned!

Thus the deed is done! So far as the accrediting of TWO Ministers Plenipotentiary from the *Pirate Government*, and the appointment of a Charge d'Affaires to it by our own, can sanction the monstrous scheme of national marauding and national aggrandizement,—*it is done!!* The *second* grand step is now taken by the *slaveholding party*, which has most effectually exercised its malign influence over our government, for the robbery and dismemberment of the Mexican Republic. The next, and *final* step, will be an application to Congress for the annexation of the territory to the United States. *This will be done, the first moment that an opportunity is presented.*

CAUSE OF THE LATE AMERICAN PANIC.

In the Annual Report of the American Anti-slavery Society, held the 9th of May last, there is a statement of one of the causes which has led to the present derangement of the commercial affairs of that country which merits the attention, not of that nation only, but of every nation that has any thing to do, directly or indirectly, with the accursed and heaven-denounced system of slavery. Its effects are as insidious and as ramified as the plague; and its consequences are entailed, not only upon the hands polluted with the blood-stained system, but like the plague, its curse lies concealed in many instances in the very wares and merchandize which are raised by its adoption.

The following passage occurs in the Report, an abstract of which has been forwarded to this country:—

“The present collapse of commercial credit, as it has been in some degree brought about by slavery, so it will not fail to re-act upon it for the relief of the slave. The capitalists, and mercantile men of Great Britain and our northern cities, anxious to share the plunder of the poor slaves in the shape of profits on cotton, have outbid each other in offering premiums to slaveholding rapacity and prodigality in the shape of advances and long credits, till their enormously distended bubbles meeting others similarly inflated, by some slight jar, all have burst together, and men are wondering after the localities of their departed glories. One of the reasons of the present pressure, is that slaveholders have borrowed immense sums which they are unable to pay. Take the affairs of a single cotton planting state, as an illustration. Mississippi has doubtless received her full share or one fourth part of the 250,000 slaves said to have been carried by last year's traffic into the four southern cotton planting states. But sup-

pose, to allow for some exaggeration, that she has received but 50,000 and the price which has often risen to 1500 and 2000 dollars per head, has averaged 800 dollars—and we have an outlay for slave labour of 40,000,000 dollars more than the value of the whole cotton crop of the country at the present price. But this year's importation of slaves is only the last term of a series. The state must have been already in debt vastly beyond her resources. To pay this debt, she relied ultimately on the cotton crop, but immediately on the advances of cotton factors and the banking capital she had invited from abroad. That capital is said to amount nominally to 10,000,000 dollars based on 2,000,000 dollars of specie. The circulation is said to be 60,000,000 dollars. Is it any wonder that these slaveholders, who to keep up with their prodigality, rapacity, and debt, were obliged to swell every silver dollar of their borrowed money into 30 dollars of paper, should at last be unable to pay? And is it not to be expected that before northern capitalists recover their share of this debt, their admiration of the peculiar institutions of the South will be essentially abated?"

TESTIMONY OF BRITISH CHRISTIANS AGAINST SLAVERY.

Address of the Members of the Presbyterian Synod of Ireland distinguished by the name of Seceders, to their brother Christians of the American Church.

DEAR BRETHREN IN CHRIST,—We have long looked to your country with intense and increasing interest, not as the home of liberty, or the scene of an immense experiment in which the destinies of the world are involved, but as exhibiting the sublimity of Christian enterprise, encircling the world, and embracing the whole human family. Resolutions such as have been passed and carried into operation by your Bible, Missionary, and Temperance Societies, have given to America a sublimity and a glory which her great rivers, lakes, and mountains, her great statesmen, and her free institutions could never have imparted; and while we reflect with thankfulness on all you have already done, we look forward with high hope to enlarging fields of still nobler and holier enterprise. One melancholy consideration, however, mingles with all our sympathies towards you; while we hold up your bright example, that the world may rejoice in its light, our hearts sink at the reflection, that America, the land of liberty, is also the land of the slave; and that while her ships sail on the bosom of all the seas, trophies of temperance-emanicipation, and her missionaries in all lands proclaim "liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound," the victims of her oppression pine at home; and cruel prejudice and heartless self-interest hold in degrading bondage tens of thousands, who have proved themselves worthy of every right and privilege of man. Brethren, we have no wish to dwell on the many and aggravated wrongs inflicted by you on your countrymen in slavery, nor to denounce in harsh terms the unjust and unchristian policy to which your pride or your fear has driven you; we address you in love, and it is because we love you, and rejoice in the great things God has done by you, that we speak to you plainly and boldly, beseeching you by the God of the spirits of all flesh, and by the spirit of him in whom the bond and free are one, to let the oppressed go free and to break every yoke. Where the path of duty is plain we know nothing of impossibilities; you have yourselves taught us that "What ought to be done can be done, and should be done now." American Christians have already accomplished what fear and

selfishness called impossibilities, and they will accomplish more ; the same truth which has returned triumphant from many a field can conquer still, and we shall not wait long, till the foul blot on America's fair fame, the dark, unseemly plague-spot, be wiped away for ever. Then shall the mouths of the gainsayers be stopp'd, and your example shine in unsullied lustre ; then shall your light break forth as the morning, and your health shall spring forth speedily ; your righteousness shall go before you, and the glory of the Lord shall be your reward. If you take away from the midst of you the yoke, the putting forth of the finger and speaking vanity ; if you draw forth your soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul, then shall your light rise in obscurity, and your darkness be as the noon day. The Lord hasten it in his time.

(Signed) JOHN EDGAR, D. D.

Professor of Divinity, Royal College, Belfast.

At an Annual Meeting of the Liverpool Auxiliary to the Baptist Missionary Society, held in Byrom street Chapel, on June 13, 1837,

JOHN CROPPER, JUN., Esq., in the Chair,

It was moved by the Rev. B. Godwin, seconded by the Rev. C. M. Birrell, and carried unanimously,

"That this meeting, having heard the authenticated statements of George Thomson, Esq., feels deeply afflicted and indignant that the Act, passed with a view to effect the immediate Abolition of Slavery, has proved so far nugatory as to have placed those now called Apprentices in a State little better, and in many respects worse, than it was before Twenty Millions of British money were paid for their perfect liberation ;—and that therefore this meeting pledges itself, in the strength of Almighty God, not to relax in efforts until justice be rendered to the Slave and to the British people."

JOHN CROPPER, *Chairman.*

Letter from the Berks and West London Association of Baptist Churches in England, to the baptized churches in the United States.

DEAR BRETHREN,—At our recent assembly which was held at Chelsea, on the 16th and 17th of May last, we bore you affectionately on our hearts, in all that relates to your purity, peace, and prosperity : but we cherished an especial sympathy with you in that great conflict with wretchedness and sin, under the form of SLAVERY in which we rejoice to know that, to a great extent, you are engaged. And upon this subject we address you.

In slavery, as subsisting in the land you occupy, you see an evil which has sprung from causes over which you had no control, and for the origination of you are not responsible. Your position in relation to it is highly critical and important. It has a direct tendency to modify, and of course to deteriorate, the aspect of Christianity among you. The members of the churches are taken, of necessity out of a community, whose tone of general sentiment is acted on by the existence of Slavery among them, and in many cases out of a community, of actual slaveholders.

Hence there is obviously a danger lest the temper of the churches should be far less elevated on this subject than it ought to be ; lest the ministry of the gospel, and the discipline of the churches should be lowered in accommodation to it ; and lest this injustice and iniquity should obtain first a toleration, and then a sanction, where it ought to be most deeply bewailed, and most promptly re-

nounced. We are not desirous of making ourselves judges how far the *temporary* toleration of slavery by the professed disciples of Christ may be (as it has been alleged to be in part) inevitable; it is enough for us to know, that it can be so *only in part*. In what part the toleration of slavery by Christians or by Christian churches is inevitable, is a question of casuistry, admitting, doubtless, of different answers in different circumstances, but requiring to be answered with scrupulous and resolute fidelity in all. The answer to it in any given case depends very much upon the feelings; very much on the tenderness of the conscience; on the spirit of love, on the sense of justice, and on the readiness to make sacrifices when duty calls for them. But it cannot, surely, be disguised from you, that the prevalence of slavery in a community tends to blunt all these feelings, and to generate a race of *Christians* even, in whom they shall be extremely defective and inoperative. The gospel ministry itself may become so modified as to lose its adaptation to the cure of this evil, inasmuch as the ministers may be infected by it, and the people may be unwilling to hear "sound doctrine." Christianity, which is essentially adverse to slavery, and is destined to be not only its enemy, but its conqueror, may thus unhappily become its patron and ally; and be made to cherish under her wings the dreadful mischiefs which she is fitted and called to destroy. Do not be offended with us, dear brethren, if we warn you against so obvious and so serious a danger. No greater evil to the world can arise, in any respect, than a lowering of the tone of Christianity by its professed disciples; and in no case could the evil be greater, than in reference to slavery—a system of iniquity and misery so widely prevalent, and so deeply rooted, as to require the strongest influences of the gospel for its overthrow. Let us entreat you, therefore, to watch over the purity of the churches and the faithfulness of the ministry. Guard yourselves from a wish to have withheld from you any part of the counsel of God. Not only suffer from your ministers, but enjoin them to bring forth the clearest statements, the most searching inquiries, the most weighty motives, by which your minds may be enlightened and quickened in regard to your own duty, and by which, also, the just and salutary influence of the gospel may affect the opinions of the community at large.

The caution and entreaty we have thus ventured to address to you, acquire greater importance from the consideration, that in the influence of Christianity lies the only hope of the abolition of slavery. No other power is at work for it now. But this has begun to operate, and is already working with a mighty and most promising energy. Many of you have taken a prominent and noble part in the struggle, and we trust all will shortly do so. We rejoice to know that your hands have not been more deeply stained with this sin than those of other communities of Christians; and that in endeavouring to wipe away the stain, none are more forward. Our heart's desire is to encourage you in your exertions. We see in them the spirit of Christ, and we love his image in you. We share in your hostility to the powers of darkness, and are helping together with you in prayer. We sympathise in your trials and obstructions, whether arising from popular violence, or the hostile attitude of the civil power. But we know you will persevere. The voice of millions in Great Britain cheers you on to the attack; and we blend our voice with the general acclamation. You must be successful: you be steadfast. There have been many battles fought in defence of slavery, but the defenders of it have never triumphed. They have been doomed to see their bulwarks, one after another, give way, and their victims, mass after mass, escape from the tyrant's grasp. And so it shall be still. And if, in the United States, there shall be fought the severest battle, there also shall be gained the most glorious victory. Whoever may linger in this holy war, do you, dear brethren, even to a man, be in the van of the army that shall achieve it. The God of all power and might go before you and be your reward!

Signed by order and on behalf of the Association,

JOSEPH TYSO, *Secretary*.

Wallingford, Berks, June, 15, 1837.

* * Other bodies of Christians have published similar testimonies, which we must reserve to a future opportunity.

Slavery in America.

No. XIV.—AUGUST, 1837.

APOLOGY FOR SLAVEHOLDING.

FROM the merited abhorrence with which the entire system of slavery is viewed in this country, it is to many persons a matter perplexing beyond conception, how any Christian, can be brought to adopt or justify such a species of cruelty and wrong. No man, acquainted with the workings of the human mind, but will be ready to concede, that there must be some process of reasoning by which even the slave-dealer and the man-thief justifies his conduct to himself. Habitually to violate his conscience is what no man can do for any length of time. It would be a source of torment to him more than sufficient to counterbalance all the gains of injustice, or the sweets of arbitrary power. It would be to arm a fiend within him whose voice would antedate the misery of the damned. There *must* be a process, however hollow and delusive it may be, by which the abettors of this system justify it to themselves; and more especially is this evident, when we recollect the length of time, and the extent of country, in which it has been practised; and that it has been but very recently that any general and open demonstration of public feeling has been exhibited against it. Even at the present moment, the active opponents of slavery form but a small proportion of the people of the north; and in the south, scarcely such a man is to be found; and those who are there, dare not open their lips on the subject. It appears, therefore, only an act of justice, that we should devote a page or two of our work to permit so large a class of professing Christians, ministers of the gospel, officers of Christian churches, and indeed more than one-half of the entire professing population of America, to justify themselves, in their own language, before their fellow-Christians in other parts of the world. This

we will now permit them to do ; and, moreover, we will bespeak them a careful and candid consideration on the part of our readers ; and we will not prejudice their cause by any animadversions of our own, either by way of prologue or epilogue, but leave their own statements to make their own impression. The first of the following papers is from the pen of the Rev. Mr. PLUMER, a leading minister of the Presbyterian denomination, apparently written in his official capacity, and obviously intended to embody the statements of that body of Christians with which he stands connected.

MR. PLUMER'S REASONS,

Before the Presbyterian Convention at Philadelphia, for leaving the Subject of Slavery untouched.

1. When the compact, under which the General Assembly has attained to its present importance, was formed, every presbytery entering into the agreement (with not more than one exception, if indeed there was one) existed in a state under whose laws domestic slavery was established. It is incredible that in that compact it was ever contemplated to censure what was a common practice in nearly or quite all our presbyteries. Our first reason therefore is, that such action would be unconstitutional, and therefore wrong.

2. All such action is contrary to the example and teachings of Christ and his apostles. It is not even pretended that they ever moved the question of the lawfulness of slavery. On the contrary, all they say on the subject is soothing to every feeling of asperity or jealousy or distrust, either in master or slave.

3. It is impossible to enter on the subject without immediately interfering with the politics of the land. No question now before the American people is more intermingled with political interests and parties and legislation than is this. It is confessed that to agitate the subject of the basis of representation in any of our state legislatures, would justly clothe this body and the whole of the Presbyterian church with odium and suspicion. We know full well, however, that the foregoing subject might be far more safely discussed here, than that whose introduction we wish to prevent. Either of the foregoing reasons would fix our purposes on this subject. But we have other reasons which tend greatly to strengthen our determination, such as,

4. That any action on this subject not asked for by us, necessarily proceeds upon a heavy indictment against the morality of the people of the slave-holding states. It immediately arraigns us as guilty, and puts us upon our defence. The people most concerned in the question of slavery, ought to be the party wishing for action. But we have never asked for any thing to be done by the Assembly on this subject. If there be any immorality in the manner of holding slaves under the laws or contrary to the laws of any state, the church session or the presbytery is the proper court in which to commence process, and not the Assembly, which is the court of final judicature.—We utterly refuse to be accused or tried *en masse* for any thing.

5. The men most ready and prominent in agitating the subject were, in Paul's time, men who knew little or nothing of it, but raved about questions. We have no reason to believe that human nature is changed for the better, and we do believe that if those who now agitate the subject, understood it, they would immediately desist.

6. We would be basely recreant to our own good and that of our servants, if we should meet to discuss this subject any where, and especially out of the bounds of our respective states. We mean to govern and control under our awful responsibility to God alone, both our children and our servants, and do for them that which we believe to be most for their and our benefit, without for a moment tolerating any interference with our domestic relations.

7. We testify what we do know, that nought but evil, pure, unmixed and dreadful evil, has resulted to bond and free, black and white, throughout all the slaveholding states, from the excitement which has prevailed on the subject out of those states, and we are determined not to increase evils already so distressing.

8. All that we, who reside in the slaveholding states, say and do on the whole subject is habitually so perverted, and our motives are so misrepresented, that we think it best to avoid all discussion and action, except such as may be necessary for self-defence. Even were it proper at any time to say or do aught on the subject, the public mind is now ill prepared to receive, in a good temper, any thing that may come from us or from any other quarter on the subject.

9. In a delegated body as large as the Assembly there will always be some who will avail themselves of the opportunity, which discussion preceding other action affords, to make irritating and insulting speeches. Feeling no direct or immediate responsibility to those who are peculiarly aggrieved by such remarks, they will even be wanton and cruel. We have no idea of needlessly permitting ourselves to be placed in a situation so unpleasant.

10. Should the Assembly, after discussion, pass any vote on the subject, even by a large majority, nobody will be bound by such vote except so far as it may favor their peculiar views. Consequently, a battle fought one year will be renewed the next, until the meeting of this body shall be the grand anniversary for biting and devouring one another. Our wish is to leave off contention before it be meddled with—to quit quarrelling before we begin it, inasmuch as strife always goes hand in hand with every evil work.

11. Every concession, which for the sake of peace and union we may at any time have made, has been grossly misconstrued into a consciousness of guilt, a confession that we had a bad cause. We have no doubt that such would be the abuse of any concession which we might now make. We wish it fully understood that we have nothing whatever to concede on any branch of the subject.

12. To admit any action on the subject would render us ridiculous in the eyes of those who have no interest in the general subject, contemptible in the eyes of our enemies, and odious to our own dear people and fellow-citizens of the slaveholding states.

13. We foresee very great evils which must arise unless this whole subject be immediately put to rest. For ourselves, we are determined to avoid these evils. The agitators of this subject will unquestionably overrun some portion of our land with incalculable calamities unless speedily checked; and we, in common with all our fellow-citizens in the South, are determined that our respective sections of the land shall not be the field of ruin. If calamity must come, it shall be to those portions of the land, where good men, professing neutrality and lacking firmness to resist the torrent, have let in the overflowing scourge.

14. Any discussion not miserably tame, however cool, kind, scriptural, and defensive it might be on our part, would necessarily inflame passions already

overheated, and would fan an excitement which we believe to be, in its origin, principles, and spirit, fierce, impertinent, reckless, and wicked.

15. We are perfectly well satisfied with our own previous and present course in relation to this whole subject.—We have no cases of conscience to submit to the Assembly, or any other body of men, or any branch of it. Our consciences accuse us not. We do not, therefore, wish anything to be done in a matter respecting which we have no scruples to relieve, but have a very plain course marked out before us.

16. We do firmly believe, that the recent excitement on this whole subject owes its origin and maintenance, in no small degree, to several unworthy causes. The first is a spurious and feverish philanthropy. This has affected *some*. The second is a fanaticism, deep, and dark, and wild, and malignant, which has engaged a few. The third is a design of wily, partisan politicians, who wish to produce a certain state of things in the country, well understood by themselves. This has had great influence. We are fully determined, in reliance upon God, never to be the factors or the subjects of such influences as these.

17. Finally, should the Assembly take up this subject and legislate upon it, and decide that slaveholding is a sin, then, of course, the persons who should thus vote would wish the southern churches cut off for immorality, and the southern churches would all feel themselves instructed by the apostle Paul to “withdraw from such.” Thus our church would be rent asunder, and southern and northern Presbyterians and Congregationalists could no longer meet even in a social way, and hail each as brethren. Well, the work of division thus begun must go on, and soon another, and another, and yet another denomination will divide by North and South. Thus the strong bond of religious friendship will be broken. Then nothing is left to be done to finish the work, except to arouse and inflame the infidelity and the animism of North and South against each other, give the tocsin of disunion a blast, and rend the star-spangled banner in twain, and soon the hostile forces will be marshalled against each other, and the Potomac will be dyed with blood. Can it be that the righteous Judge of all the earth has so dreadful a controversy with the Presbyterian church of the United States as to give her up to the folly and madness of being the first to hoist the gale, and let this flood of desolation roll in. God forbid that a punishment so terrible should await us!

These are some of our views. Though I have the pleasure of knowing that I have uttered sentiments approved, to a letter, by several good men, both in the South and in the North, yet my name alone is to be connected with these statements. The Lord give wisdom and grace to all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in these days, when men’s hearts are failing them for looking for those things which shall come to pass.

The following article is an abstract of two discourses, preached by an episcopal clergyman, by which we have an insight into the kind of theology adapted to the atmosphere of a slave state.

“THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF SLAVEHOLDERS.

“This is the title of two discourses, delivered on Sunday, Nov. 27, 1836, in Christ Church, Raleigh, N. C., by Geo. W. Freeman, Rector of the church. A

committee of the Senate, then in session, requested their publication. Bishop Ives, in a note to the author, says he listened to the discourses 'with most unfeigned pleasure,' and desires their publication 'from a conviction of their being urgently called for at the present time.'—Both sermons are from this text: Col. iv. 1. *Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a master in heaven.*

"The author argues that the word rendered *servant*, in the text and elsewhere in the Scriptures, means *slaves*; that it is one of the penal consequences of sin—an effect of 'that doom'—*Cursed is the ground for thy sake, &c.*; that Abraham was a slaveholder; that 'not a word, disapproving the practice, ever fell from his (the Saviour's) lips; that the apostles, though they frequently spoke of slavery, yet never did it 'with one word of disapprobation; that Paul reclaimed and sent back to his master 'a fugitive slave; that slavery 'was sanctioned by God himself; that the slaves have great reason to be contented and thankful, that the *curse* pronounced upon Ham has been changed into a *blessing* with regard to them, in consequence of their introduction into this country from Africa.

"The conclusion then is, says the author, 'no man, nor set of men, in our day are entitled to pronounce it WRONG'—and 'we may add that slavery, as it exists at the present day, is AGREEABLE TO THE ORDER OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE.

"The preacher next addresses masters, on their duties to their slaves; that they be not overworked, or unmercifully punished; but, on the contrary, that as 'the labourer is always worthy of his hire,' the just 'hire' of these people is, 'at the least, a complete and comfortable support; and that oral instruction should be given, especially to the children; because 'if after all we should fail of making our slaves sincere and humble Christians, still we might well hope to succeed in making them *more useful servants and better men.*'

"The preacher concludes by reminding masters (he being one) that they have 'a master in heaven,' even Jesus Christ, who will one day appear as their Judge, and require of them to give a strict account of their stewardship! That he is master of the slave in the same sense as he is their master; that both are his property; both bought 'with a price,' even the price of his own precious blood; both redeemed by the same merciful Lord, 'and shall receive our final account from the same mouth.' The discourses are concluded with the parable of the King who would take account of his servants, and the injunction of the Saviour, 'He that hath ears to hear let him hear.'

"Reader, to this complexion will all slaveholding preachers come at last. Slavery must be defended from the Bible. The 'institution' must be upheld as one of mercy, as a blessing to slaves, to the masters, and to the country."

SLAVERY THE CAUSE OF THE AMERICAN PANIC.

A paper was inserted in our last number on the cause of the late American panic. Since that publication was issued, the papers received from America from different parts of the Union, fully corroborate the view there given; and its importance fully justifies us in laying the following additional statements before our readers.

The following description of the melancholy and desperate condition of

one of the Slave States is extracted from the "OHIO PHILANTHROPIST" of May 19th. Providence is evidently teaching those by his frowns who refuse to receive instruction from his word.

"The news from Mississippi is of the most disheartening character. Letters from gentlemen of the highest standing, in various quarters of that state, tell of things that would not have been dreamed of two months ago.

"Negroes that three months since cost 1200 to 1500 dollars each, can be bought in any part of Mississippi for 250 to 300 dollars cash. This description of property, whose increased value depended entirely upon the late exorbitant prices of cotton, has there come down to a level with the present depreciated rates of the great staple, leaving the *unfortunate purchaser* minus thousands. The loss on this kind of property alone is enough to bankrupt the State. But the misfortune does not stop here.

"The planters had anticipated their crops, and received and expended three fourths of their value months ago. On the delivery of the cotton so bought and paid for, they mutually came forward, and expected to mortgage as it were, their labour, capital, and time, for the next twelve months, in order to procure sufficient of the necessaries of life for the support of their negroes, and get means for carrying on their plantations, pitching their crops, &c. To their surprise, the 4th of March and its attendant destruction came upon all their expectations, and crushed them in an instant. They are now left without provisions and the means of living and using their industry, for the present year. In this dilemma, planters whose crops have been from 100 to 700 bales, find themselves forced to sacrifice many of their slaves in order to get the common necessaries of life for the support of themselves and the rest of their negroes. In one instance, a small planter whose hopes ran high last winter, and who owned twenty-two slaves, sold three of his best men, for which he had actually paid 3200 dollars, for 850 dollars, to buy pork and corn for the remainder. In many places, heavy planters compel their slaves to fish for the means of subsistence, rather than sell them at such ruinous rates. There are at this moment thousands of slaves in Mississippi, that know not where the next morsel is to come from. The master must be ruined to save the wretches from being starved."

From the FRIEND OF MAN, May 31.

"Rival politicians have exhausted their ingenuity to trace out and expose what they conceive to be the principal cause of our present distress. It is remarkable that they have not hit upon a single supposed case, that is not *itself*, a well known and undeniable effect of *slaveholding*.

"During the forty-eight years since the establishment of the Federal Constitution, there have been only two short periods, of four years each, in which a *slaveholding administration* and a *slaveholding policy* have not governed this people, and what marvel if the interests of free labour and free commerce should suffer under their rule? We have established tariffs and repealed them; we have chartered national banks and unchartered them, and we have managed every other department of political and financial economy, just as the dominant statesman of the *South* have seen fit to dictate. And the South moulds her policy to suit the interests of *slaveholding*. She holds the sway because the

Constitution gives her a disproportionate representation in compliment to her policy of *slaveholding*. Just so far, therefore, as the commercial distresses of the country are the result of a bad national policy (if it be so), just so far they are the result of *slaveholding*.

"Another class of politicians very confidently trace our present embarrassments to an inflated paper money and extended credit system. They affirm that the *producing classes* are made the prey of overgrown and disproportionate hordes of traffickers and *speculators*, who prefer to live by their *wits* instead of their *hands*—who choose to earn their bread by converting the agricultural products of the country, its barrels of flour and its bales of cotton, into so many boxes of dice, or packs of cards, to gamble with, instead of adding to their number by their own honest labour—who even cut up the soil of the country into one vast chess-board, dotted with anticipated villages, and checkered with the intersecting streets of cities yet to be built, that they may *themselves* pocket *to-day*, the earnings of the labourer that is to cut down the forests and build the cities of coming generations, half a century hence.

"There is reason to believe that these causes exist, and have had their *share* in producing our present troubles. But these causes are only the *effects* of a previously existing cause. Sober and patient industry once characterized the descendants of the pilgrims. *Whose* example has set them agog to live without labour, upon the labour of the producing classes? It is the example of the *slaveholder*! What has made honest industry disreputable? *Slaveholding*! Where was the first lesson learned, that it was more honourable to live in idleness than to subsist by labour? Among *slaveholders*. Where did the mania of *gaming* commence, that has swept so fearfully over our country? Among *slaveholders*. Who first invented the device of carrying to market, *to-day*, the earnings of the labourers whose work was to be performed in *coming years*? The *slaveholders*!

"There are times when even *merchants*, in all their hurry and bustle, are obliged to pursue, and look at the fundamental principles and facts by which all the pecuniary matters of a community must ultimately be governed. Such a crisis is the present. We have just returned from the city of New York. Such a change in public sentiment and feeling we never before witnessed. Heaven grant the impression may be salutary and abiding.

"We sauntered slowly, one day, through the centre of mercantile operations in New York. We contrasted the present appearance of things with the eager bustle and joyous anticipations of a year ago. An old acquaintance tapped us gently on the shoulder. He had been a merchant in the city for a number of years. We had known him when he commenced the race of life with no capital but his industry and good name. We had known him when he numbered, by estimation, his hundreds of thousands. He was among the ardent opposers of abolitionists in 1834. In these trying times he always eyed us askance, or, what was more commonly the case, took care to let his eye rest on some other object, when we were passing each other on the side walk. But now, it was not so. We had heard his name mentioned among the list of the recent failures. His youthful acquaintances—though abolitionists, were not unheeded by him, *now*. Immediately after the first salutation, he began,—‘well—these times are doing more for *abolition* in one day, than all your societies in a year. I should have been a rich man, if I had learned wit enough not to trust the *slaveholders*.’

"Parting with this man, we stepped into the countinghouse of a friend who has a large establishment and a partner in one of the cities of the South. To this gentleman I had never broached the 'delicate subject' of abolitionism, well knowing that it was his utter abomination. But he now introduced it himself. 'A few months ago,' said he, 'the Richmond Enquirer was boasting that the South had one hold upon the North, which would bring them to terms. That hook was commerce. The North could be made to put down the abolitionists, when they saw it was the only means of securing southern custom. But now,' continued the merchant, 'the North has got its belly full of southern custom. Southern debts, on an average, are not worth ten cents on a dollar, nor are they likely to be, for a quarter of a century to come. No! Nor *never*' [added he, with great emphasis] 'so long as the slave system continues, and so long as Northern merchants retain their senses, or remember the catastrophe of 1837.'

"The following item will serve as an illustration of what we are now saying. And the testimony comes from the citadel of the slaveholder.

Bankruptcy of New Orleans.

From the NEW ORLEANS BEE of the 15th May.

"The liabilities of the cotton factors and buyers are commensurate with the exports of the city—say seventy-five millions; including the responsibilities of the actual planters, the amount may be one hundred millions. But, taking into consideration the amount due on land or real estate speculation, the actual indebtedness of New Orleans may be fairly estimated at two hundred millions. From what sources can this amount be presently produced? Acceptances have been given twelve months in advance on crops; cotton buyers will lose nearly forty per cent on their purchases and exportations; and land speculators are from five to twenty-five years in advance of the productiveness of their lands and lots. Factors have nothing for their acceptances; planters can make nothing by the present price of cotton—eight to ten cents per pound; buyers must lose on exportation, in consequence of the depressed condition of the Liverpool and Havre markets; and the land and lot speculators have only a representative value of about one dollar in twenty.

'Relief is therefore almost impossible; and some of the most discreet and experienced citizens judge it preferable to allow the evils of their present onward and fearful course, which may probably continue for six or eight months longer. The commercial horizon is so obscured, that scarcely a ray of hope glimmers in the vista. All is darkness, doubt, and despair.'

"THE "MARKET" HAS FALLEN.—One of the chief sources from whence our Southern "brethren" derive their wealth in prosperous times, and to which they could always resort for relief in times of embarrassment like the present, seems to have almost entirely failed them, if we may credit the accounts given in their own papers. They can not *sell one another*, for any thing like a decent price! Only think; a MAN will not fetch more than about 150 dollars now, though just as fat and healthy as he was a year ago, when he would bring 1200 dollars!

What a falling off is here! Why, we begin to think there are no *decent* men at the South; for if there were, they would command better prices.—*From the Republican Monitor.*

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THIS Society held its fourth anniversary at the Broadway Tabernacle, on Tuesday morning, May 9th, ARTHUR TAPPAN, President, in the chair. Prayer, and reading the Scriptures, by Rev. LEICESTER A. SAWYER, of New Haven, Conn. The Report of the Executive Committee was read by the Corresponding Secretary, ELIZUR WRIGHT, Junr.

Abstract of the Fourth Annual Report.

The Report commences with a tribute to the memory of the venerable George Benson, one of the Society's Vice Presidents, and Thomas Shipley, and Edwin P. Atlee, two of its most active and devoted managers; which it improves as an admonition that the time is short in which we can plead the cause of the Lord's outraged and down-trodden poor. It proceeds to state that 483 new Societies have been organized during the year, making the whole number 1006. State Societies have been organized in Michigan and Pennsylvania, while those already existing in seven other states, have prosecuted their labors with increasing zeal, energy, and success. The number of presses wholly or in part devoted to the propagation of Anti-Slavery doctrines, has been greatly multiplied; while opposing presses have, in numerous instances, given marked indications of their sensibility to an approaching turn in the tide of public feeling.

The amount of funds placed in the hands of the Committee has not been as great as was expected at the last anniversary. The total receipts have been 36,567 dollars 92 cents, being an increase over the receipts of last year, of 10,701 dollars 62 cents. Of this, a much larger sum than last year has been expended on the support of living agents. The issues from the press have been as follows, viz:—

Bound volumes	7,877	Anti-Slavery Record	103,000
Tracts and pamphlets	47,250	Human Rights	189,400
Circulars, &c.	4,100	Emancipator	168,120
Prints	10,490		
Anti-Slavery Magazine	9,000	Total	669,387
Slaves' Friend	130,150		

Upwards of seventy agents have been appointed during the year, sixty-five of whom have been in the service of the society for longer or shorter periods. Their success is most marked and cheering. Three of the agents have devoted themselves exclusively to encouraging our coloured brethren in the free states, in their laudable efforts to rise, by education and virtuous industry, above the cruel prejudice which is crushing them in the dust, and through their degradation, darkening the despair of the slave. The statistics of our coloured population, their grievances, and the obstacles which have opposed their advancement, have been searched out. They have been encouraged to form societies for mutual assistance and improvement, to support schools, to put their children where they can acquire trades, and to apply themselves to more independent and substantial occupations than those to which they are chiefly devoted in our large cities. In the western states they are inclined to purchase, clear and cultivate the public lands; and the good effect of their zeal and success in this

enterprise, both upon themselves and their white neighbours, begins to be happily developed.

The agent in Ohio, who, for the sake of encouraging coloured men to become cultivators of the soil, has placed his head-quarters in the wilderness, twelve miles from any post-office, writes: "People are coming and buying every week. My wife gets new plots from the land office every now and then, that she may be able to give them directions where to look for lots." He says of the colored people of that state, whom he has laboriously searched out, "The abolition breeze that has blown over them, has been like the Spirit of God upon Adam's lifeless clay." The following, among other facts which he states, shows how the new life manifests itself. "One man (in Springfield) who was a slave till he was about forty years old, has built a school-house at his own expense, on his own lot, which is occupied by a school with 30 scholars. J. Wise (in the vicinity of Springfield) bought himself in Virginia. He rents a farm, raised a thousand bushels of corn last year, &c. I met him driving his team of four horses to the village, with a load of brick. He has two children yet in slavery." "William Roberts also rents a farm, raised 4000 bushels of corn last year." "Nimrod Morgan, a blacksmith, owns his shop, house and lot." "I have found some very good farmers. One man, in Butler county, has taken the premium at the agricultural fair, for three years, for the best sheep. I should consider it an honour to any man to have so well cultivated a farm as his. I have noticed that such men have generally the good will and respect of the whole neighbourhood where they reside." Thus let coloured men become farmers, and strike their roots deep in our free soil, and they will infallibly rise above that prejudice which now makes us even hesitate to publish these simple facts, lest they should call forth mobocratic vengeance, to defeat the experiment.

One agent has been employed to investigate the condition and prospects of the colored people in Upper Canada, where he finds a population of about 10,000, almost entirely fugitives from American oppression. Having crossed the line with no other wealth than their bodies and souls, many of them have made themselves quite comfortable, and some of them have become even wealthy. Several schools have sprung up amongst them, by the efforts of the agent. Full and satisfactory evidence of their good behaviour and value as citizens, has been given by the highest civil authorities, and by men of standing of different sects and parties. Says the Hon. R. G. Dunlop, member of the Provincial Parliament, for the county of Huron, "There are not, in his majesty's dominions, a more loyal, honest, industrious, temperate, and independent class of citizens than the colored people of Upper Canada." Says W. L. Mackenzie, Esq., also a member of Parliament, and the well known leader of the Reform party, "As a people, they are as well behaved as a majority of the whites, and perhaps more temperate. The value of this testimony will be appreciated, when it is taken into account that the blacks of Upper Canada, are, to a man, *Anti-Reformers*, fearing lest *Republicanism* should carry them back to what they suffered in the United States."

"Says John H. Dunn, Esq., Receiver General of the province, and resident in Toronto, where there is a colored population of 600 persons: "Although I have been in the habit of daily contributing my assistance to a vast number of destitute poor, ever since my residence in this province, now seventeen years, I do not remember ever having been solicited for alms, by more than one or two

people of color during the whole course of that period."—Many of these self-emancipated people are found to be very intelligent, and capable of throwing much light upon the House of Bondage from which they have escaped. Their statements of the horrors of slavery which they have felt and seen, are so full, definite, and circumstantial, with names, dates, and places, that, unless contradicted by more than a mere denial, they must command our belief.

Several flourishing and anti-slavery societies have been formed in the province, to cooperate with us in the moral warfare, and to bar out that prejudice which some of our white republicans are industriously exporting.

One agent has been exclusively devoted to the dissemination of anti-slavery principles among children and youth, and with gratifying success. On looking into our present generation of revised and improved school books, it will be seen that those faithful finger-boards, which used to point the young mind towards righteousness and liberty, and away from ~~the~~ SLAVERY, as from a den of abominations, are mostly torn down, and in their stead, in some of the popular reading books and geographies, pleasant lanes are opened, through which "Southern institutions" look beautiful in the distance. Here is poisoning at the fountain! Had we expended ten times, nay, one hundred times, the efforts we have, to administer the antidote, we could not have been justly chargeable with overestimating the importance of the measure. Slaveholders dread the young abolitionists more than the old.

Reference is here made to the deputation sent to the West Indies, the facts respecting which have already been published. They proceed to give a tribute of commendation to the Misses Grimké, and to the labours of George Thompson, in Great Britain; and in regard to his debate with Mr. Breckenridge, the testimony of Dr. Wardlaw is given. Reference is also made to the many earnest and faithful remonstrances which have been received from British Christians. Among the cheering results of Anti-Slavery action at home, it is mentioned as peculiarly encouraging that there has been great accession to our ranks of truly religious people of every denomination of Christians, indicated by the thorough going anti-slavery resolutions passed and published by a multitude of religious bodies. Reference is also made to the action of several state legislatures, to show that the effect of Anti-Slavery operations is beginning to be felt upon large masses of the people. Nor are there wanting tokens that abolitionism is doing a good work within the bosom of the poor soul-enslaved South—kindling up thoughts which it would be death to speak now, but which, in spite of death, will burst forth anon. Many individuals, from the midst of slavery, have given the most solemn assurances that abolition principles are spreading among the white population of the South. "Don't give it up—don't bow down to slavery—you have thousands at the South, who are secretly praying for you," said a Southern minister, on the adjournment of the New York Annual Conference of last year, to a minister who had been threatened with censure for assisting in the circulation of an abolition paper. "There is even now more of it [Abolitionism] at the South, than prudence will permit to be openly avowed," says the *Watchman*, a paper printed at Salisbury, North Carolina.

The Report also alludes to the present commercial distress, as having been in a great measure brought about by the great advances made by Northern and European capitalists, in advance for cotton, to enable the planters to purchase slaves; and expresses the belief that it will ultimately result in benefit to the poor slave.

After alluding to various indications of pro-slavery feeling at the North, the Report concludes: All these things show the need and the efficiency of moral means at the North. Did time permit, we might dwell on the important political measures to which Northern moral power is applicable. While abolitionists will most anxiously refrain from organizing themselves into a political party, and turning from their great work to promote the election of favorites, they will not abstain from using all their political power to accomplish such objects as the preservation of their right of petition to every human being in the land, the abolition of slavery wherever Congress has the power, the exclusion of new slave states, and especially the annexation of Texas, the removal of all political disabilities, on account of colour, the extension of the right of trial by jury, and the recognition of Haytian independence.

While reading the Report, Mr. Wright presented the celebrated remonstrance from the people of Dunbarton and the Vale of Leven, in Scotland, which was unrolled and extended up and down the orchestra, disclosing upwards of 4,000 original signatures.

REVIEW :—*A Narrative of the Adventures and Escape of Moses Roper, from American Slavery.* Darton, Harvey, and Darton. pp. 106.

MOSES ROPER was the son of a slave in North Carolina: his master stood, as is very frequently the case in Slave States, in the double relation of father and master; and, bearing too strong a resemblance to his father, both mother and child were sold soon after his birth. When about six or seven years old, he was sold again, and separated from his mother. His purchaser was a negro trader, who carried him southward; and after several sales and barter, he was purchased by Mr. Gooch, a cotton planter in South Carolina.

The impression which will be made upon every reader of this narrative, will be, *Is it true?* Those who know nothing of slavery but what they will find here, will say it is impossible; and it certainly requires a credulity almost bordering on weakness, to receive the whole as truth. That a human being should be able to endure such hardships, that he should have been able so frequently to escape the vigilance of his owners—that his tale should have been preserved with such minuteness of particulars, and that by a person who, during a great portion of the period referred to could neither read nor write, is almost beyond the bounds of belief. And yet, on the other hand, what conceivable motive can there be for deception. Before arriving on this country, whither he fled as the only place of perfect safety, he was strongly recommended by several very respectable ministers in America, to the friends of religion in Britain; he has now for some time been in constant intercourse with us. He has stood the ordeal of the most severe examination, he has been solemnly warned of the consequences of deception; how it would tend to his own injury, as well as the cause of freedom in general; in this scrutiny we have personally joined; and can affirm, that however incredible the tale may appear, we are perfectly unable to its statements, and can suggest no possible motive which should actuate the narrator to mislead his friends by statements which were not true. The work

will very soon be circulated among the very people whose conduct is so fully exposed; and though we cannot expect that they will plead guilty to the charge thus brought against them, an opportunity will be afforded them of disproving them if they can; and if they cannot, perhaps it may have some effect on their hearts, when they know that enormities like those practised on this poor unfortunate being, are known to thousands of their fellow-professing Christians in Britain, with whom they would wish to stand on terms of friendly intercourse, and mutual respect.

“As soon as Mr. Gooch got me home, he immediately put me on his cotton plantation to work, and put me under overseers, gave me allowance of bread and meat with the other slaves, which was not half enough for me to live upon, and very laborious work; here my heart was almost broke with grief at leaving my fellow-slaves. Mr. Gooch did not mind my grief, for he flogged me nearly every day and very severely. Mr. Gooch bought me for his son-in-law, Mr. Hammans, about five miles from his residence. This man had but two slaves besides myself, he treated me very kindly for a week or two, but in summer when cotton was ready to hoe, he gave me task work connected with this department, which I could not get done, not having worked on cotton farms before. When I failed in my task he commenced flogging me, and set me to work without any shirt, in the cotton field in a very hot sun, in the month of July. In August, Mr. Condell, his overseer, gave me a task at pulling fodder; having finished my task before night, I left the field, the rain came on which soaked the fodder, on discovering this, he threatened to flog me for not getting in the fodder before the rain came. This was the first time I attempted to run away, knowing that I should get a flogging. I was then between thirteen and fourteen years of age, I ran away to the woods half naked, I was caught by a slave-holder, who put me in Lancaster Gaol. When they put slaves in gaol they advertize for their masters to own them; but if the master does not claim his slave in six months from the time of imprisonment, the slave is sold for gaol fees. When the slave runs away, the master always adopts a more vigorous system of flogging, this was the case in the present instance. After this, having determined from my youth to gain my freedom, I made several attempts, was caught and got a severe flogging each time. Mr Hammans was a very severe and cruel master, and his wife still worse, she used to tie me up and flog me while naked.”

“After Mr. Hammans saw that I was determined to die in the woods, and not live with him, he tried to obtain a piece of land from his father-in-law, Mr. Gooch; not having the means of purchasing it, he exchanged me for the land.

“As soon as Mr. Gooch had possession of me again, knowing that I was averse to going back to him, he chained me by the neck to his chaise. In this manner, he took me to his home at Mac Daniel's Ferry, in the county of Chester, a distance of fifteen miles. After which, he put me into a swamp, to cut trees, the heaviest work which men of twenty-five or thirty years of age have to do, I being but sixteen. Here I was on very short allowance of food, and having heavy work, was too weak to fulfil my tasks. For this I got many severe floggings; and after I had got my irons off, I made another attempt at running away. He took my irons off in the full anticipation that I could never get across the Catarba River, even when at liberty. On this I procured a small Indian canoe, which was tied to a tree, and ultimately got across the river in it. I then wandered through the wilderness for several days without any food, and but a drop of water to allay my thirst, till I became so starved, that I was obliged to go to a house to beg for something to eat, when I was captured, and again imprisoned.”

“Mr. Gooch having heard of me through an advertisement, sent his son after me; he tied me up, and took me back to his father. Mr. Gooch then obtained the assistance of another slave-holder, and tied me up in his blacksmith's shop, and gave me fifty lashes

with a cow hide. He then put a long chain, weighing twenty-five pounds, round my neck, and sent me into a field, into which he followed me with the cow hide, intending to set his slaves to flog me again. Knowing this, and dreading to suffer again in this way, I gave him the slip, and got out of his sight, he having stopped to speak with the other slave-holder."

"I got to a canal on the Cataba River, on the banks of which, and near to a lock, I procured a stone and a piece of iron, with which I forced the ring off my chain, and got it off, and then crossed the river, and walked about twenty miles, when I fell in with a slave-holder named Ballad, who had married the sister of Mr. Hammans. I knew that he was not so cruel as Mr. Gooch, and, therefore, begged of him to buy me. Mr. Ballad, who was one of the best planters in the neighbourhood, said, that he was not able to buy me, and stated that he was obliged to take me back to my master, on account of the heavy fine attaching to a man harbouing a slave. Mr. Ballad proceeded to take me back; as we came in sight of Mr. Gooch's, all the treatment that I had met with there came forcibly on my mind, the powerful influence of which is beyond description. On my knees with tears in my eyes, with terror in my countenance, and fervency in all my features, I implored Mr. Ballad to buy me, but he again refused, and I was taken back to my dreaded and cruel master. Having reached Mr. Gooch's, he proceeded to punish me. This he did by first tying my wrists together and placing them over the knees, he then put a stick through, under my knees and over my arms, and having thus secured my arms, he proceeded to flog me, and gave me 500 lashes on my bare back. This may appear incredible, but the marks which they left at present remain on my body, a standing testimony to the truth of this statement of his severity. He then chained me down in a log-pen with a 40 lb. chain, and made me lie on the damp earth all night. In the morning after his breakfast, he came to me, and without giving me any breakfast, tied me to a large heavy barrow, which is usually drawn by a horse, and made me drag it to the cotton field for the horse to use in the field.

"After this, though still determined in my own mind to escape, I stayed with him several months, during which he frequently flogged me, but not so severely as before related. During this time I had an opportunity for recovering my health, and using means to heal my wounds. My master's cruelty was not confined to me, it was his general conduct to all his slaves. I might relate many instances to substantiate this, but will confine myself to one or two. Mr. Gooch, it is proper to observe, was a member of a Baptist Church, called Black Jack Meeting House, in Cashaw county, which church I attended for several years, but was never inside. This is accounted for by the fact, that the coloured population are not permitted to mix with the white population. Mr. Gooch had a slave named Phil, who was a member of a Methodist church; this man was between seventy and eighty years of age; he was so feeble that he could not accomplish his tasks, for which his master used to chain him round the neck, and run him down a steep hill; this treatment he never relinquished to the time of his death.

In the subsequent stages of this narrative, after recording many of the revolting features of slavery, he effected his escape, never more to be retaken, and was recommended to some of the friends of the slave in Great Britain. The narrative is sold for the benefit of the sufferer, that he may enjoy the advantages of an English education, and be in some future stage of life, serviceable to the interests of those of his fellow-creatures yet in a state of hopeless bondage.

NATIONAL CONSISTENCY.

An American Exposition of Acts xvii. 26, "God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth."

AMERICAN DECLARATIONS.

"WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT, THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL; THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THE CREATOR WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS; THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS."—*Declaration of Independence.*

"All men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights; of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety."—*Virginia.*

"Through divine goodness, all men have by nature, the rights of worshipping and serving their Creator, according to the dictates of their consciences, of enjoying and defending life and liberty, and acquiring and protecting reputation and property, and, in general, of obtaining objects suitable to their condition, without injury by one to another; and these rights are essential to their welfare."—*Delaware.*

"All men are born equally free and independent; all men have certain natural, essential, and inherent rights; among which are, the enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing, and protecting, property; and, in a word, of seeking and obtaining happiness."—*New Hampshire.*

"All men are born equally free and independent, and have certain inherent and inalienable rights, among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty, of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property and reputation, and of pursuing their own happiness."—*Pennsylvania.*

AMERICAN PRACTICE.

1. "Negroes.—A lot of uncommonly likely negroes for sale—fellows and boys. Sold for no fault. Inquire," &c.

2. "Ten dollars reward.—Run away from the subscriber, a boy named January; rather chunky built; with thick cheeks or jaws. The small part of his right leg having been broken, or badly hurt, shows differently from the left, which is notable; and he says done by a horse when he was small. Any person that will bring him to me, or lodge him in some safe gaol, so that I may get him, shall have the above reward from me. William Watson."

3. "Negro men wanted.—Cash will be paid for negro men from 18 to 30 years old. Apply at the store of Graham and Hope."

4. "Negroes wanted.—Cash will be paid for likely negroes of both sexes, from the age of 10 to 20 years. Persons having such to dispose of may apply to Hugh M'Donald."

5. "Brought to Augusta gaol, on the 17th inst. a negro man who calls himself Riley. The owner is requested to come forward, pay expenses, and take him from gaol."

6. "This day, the 6th inst., will be sold, at the north of the Exchange, at 11 o'clock, a wench about 38 years old, a field hand, with her child 10 months old. Also a wench, 45 years old: a good dairy woman, poultry minder, and nurse. Conditions, cash."

7. "Cash! cash! cash!—The highest prices will be given for negroes of every description. Apply in Beaufain Street, one door from Coming-street."

8. "Fifty dollars reward.—Run away from the subscriber, his negro woman, Patsey, about 45 years old. She has two scars on the right cheek, made by the whip. The above reward will be given to any person who will deliver her to the subscriber: or 25, if in any gaol, so that I can get her. If she was not stolen, it is expected that she has endeavoured to get back to Virginia, where she was raised. She was bought of John Lane, a negro speculator.—Henry Bird."

RESOLUTIONS PASSED ON THE SUBJECT OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

At the Annual Meeting of the Bucks Association of Baptist Churches held at Chenies, May 11, 1837, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

That the members of this Association feel unabated anxiety for the speedy abolition of slavery in the United States of America, and again affectionately and strongly urge upon their brethren in that country the duty of exerting all their influence for the removal of so great an evil; at the same time expressing a fervent hope, that on no occasion, and by no party, carnal passions may be substituted for those spiritual weapons which are "mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds."

Resolutions of the South Devon and Cornwall Association of Baptist Churches, held in St. Austell, May 10 and 11, 1837.

May 11.—The sub-committee appointed to draw up resolutions on the subject of American Slavery, submitted the following, which were unanimously adopted.

I. That the principles and objects of the North American Anti-Slavery Society command the cordial approval of this Association.

II. That, as the inaugural address of the lately elected President of the United States manifestly tends to strengthen the pro-slavery interests in that country, and to discourage the friends of abolition, we feel ourselves called on to renew our decided testimony in behalf of the cause of justice, humanity, and freedom; and to beseech all our Christian brethren in America, to lend their consentaneous and undying efforts to the universal and total abolition of slavery in their own land, and throughout the world.

III. That copies of these resolutions be transmitted to the Editor of "Slavery in America," for insertion in that work.

(Signed) JOHN NICHOLSON, *President.*
W. FITZ-ER BURCHELL, *Secretary.*

Resolution of the Worcestershire Baptist Association.

"This Association embrace the present occasion afforded by this annual meeting to express their tender Christian sympathy with such of their Baptist brethren in America as are abolitionists, under the very trying circumstances in which they are placed. In thus renewing the expression of their good-will to their trans-atlantic brethren, they would take the liberty of reminding them that the American President is not the first who has issued his mandate, forbidding the disciples of Christ to speak any more in their Master's name; and that, in their belief, his high behest will prove equally futile with the fulminations of the Sanhedrim, and of the Vatican, with every other despotism, both ancient and modern. And this association assure their American brethren, that they will be borne on their hearts at a throne of grace, during the interesting and tremendous conflict in which they are engaged, till the great victory in the cause of truth and righteousness, peace and love, shall be achieved."